

# DateLine '82

82

## The need to know

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*Paris Jan. 16. 1787*

*were it left to me to decide whether  
we should have a government  
without newspapers or newspapers  
without a government, I should not  
hesitate a moment to prefer the  
latter.*

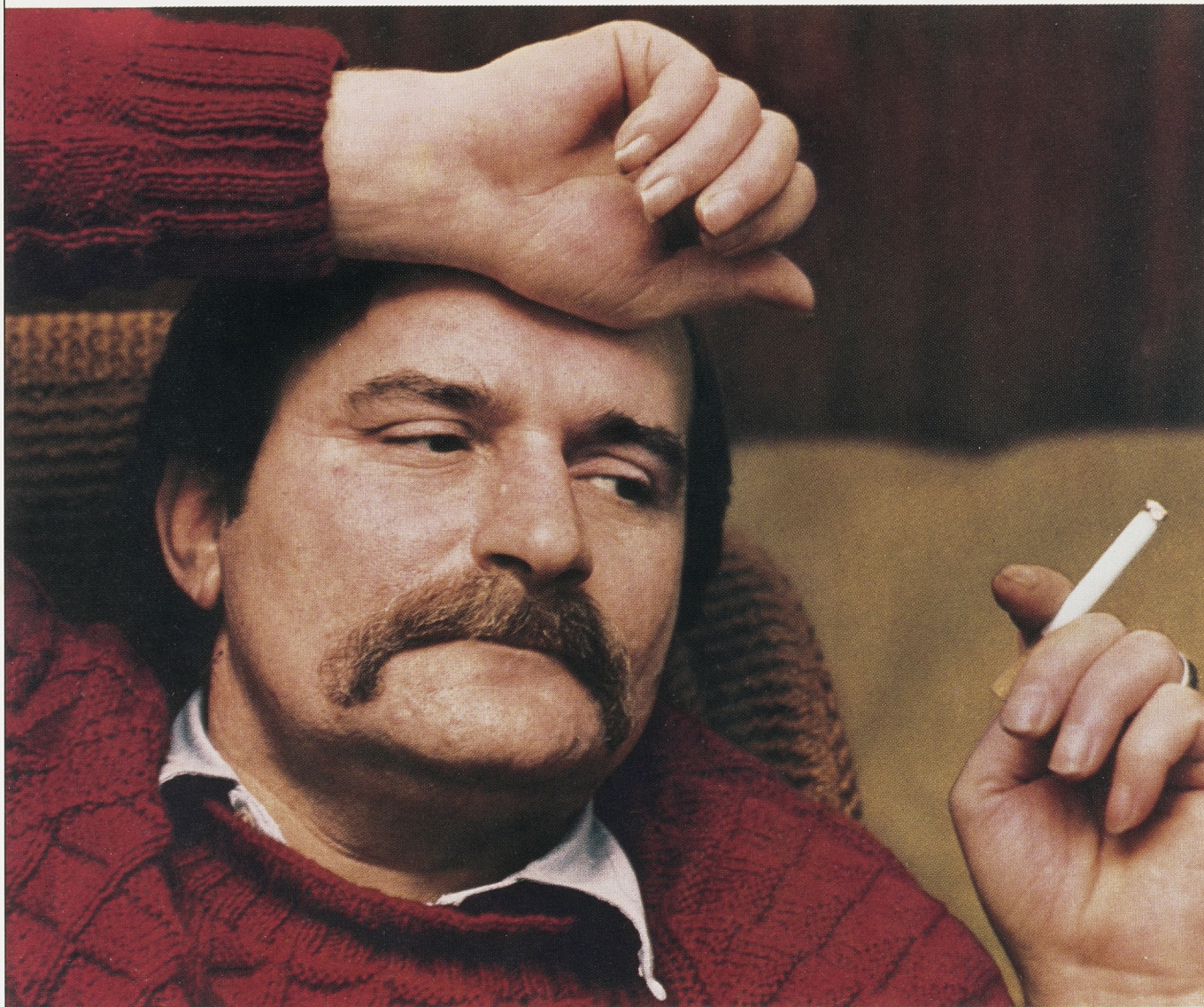
*Th. Jefferson*

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"... were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. . ." Thomas Jefferson, in a letter from Paris, January 16, 1787 to Colonel Edward Carrington in New York City.

Overseas Press Club of America





## The man from Gdansk.

*Unique insights into a crusade, and a crusader, perhaps guided more by hope and passion than by reason.*

RUDI FREY

**H**e seems to have sprung from nowhere, like the hero of a folk legend, summoned up by the urgency of his country's need. And like a legendary figure, Lech Walesa seems more charisma than person, a force rather than an individual.

When Poland was invaded by proxy on December 13, TIME had already chosen Walesa as Man of the Year. Writers, editors and researchers in Poland and America were at work to create a definitive word portrait of this extraordinary electrician from Gdansk.

With the sudden imposition of martial law, such a portrait became all

the more imperative. And because of TIME's traditional access to world leaders, it emerged with a virtuosity that no other news magazine could have duplicated.

As told by TIME, the whole tragedy came alive on the page with astonishing three-dimensional clarity: time, place, mood, event, cause and effect. And above all, Walesa himself, in an interview that was exclusive with TIME, and in which he explained himself and his cause with wonderful idiomatic simplicity. Alternately pragmatic and philosophical, he summed up all he has done with the expressed con-

viction that: "I know that I exist and that people will come after me. I know another thing: I know that I will lose today, and tomorrow will be a victory."

Through its internationally recognized authority, its passion for accuracy and substance, its instinct for the right detail and the telling image, TIME has earned millions more readers each week than any other news magazine. They get more out of TIME because we put more into it.



**More goes into it.**



# President's message

DAY AFTER DAY, and year after year, we are witnessing the sad spectacle, the surrender of the freedom of the press in domino fashion. More and more governments have, or are announcing the introduction of legislation designed to stem the flow of information and are erecting mountainous restrictions on the work of journalists. Statistics in the files of the International Press Institute, PEN, the Human Rights Commission and our own Freedom of the Press committee attest to the fact that reporters continue to be harrassed, imprisoned, tortured and sometimes killed. There has been no relaxation in this invidious endeavor—on the contrary, the whole situation appears to be heading toward further deterioration.

If this is not shocking enough, hardly a week or month passes without further evidence that government after government in the developing countries is introducing restrictive laws designed to curtail the freedom of their media and increase their pressure on international organizations such as UNESCO. And despite UNESCO's probably well-intended effort to maintain a reasonably neutral course, it is these very same developing countries that interpret UNESCO communications policy as an endorsement of their ill-intended activities.

No lesser a voice than that of Peter Galliner, Director of the International Press Institute, wrote recently: "They are using this United Nations organization as an umbrella in their efforts to pin down and squeeze the vitality out of the press, turning it into an arm of the government information service. This is often done in the name of economic development, but there is and never has been



proof that censorship aids development."

Under the guise of offering to "protect" journalists while on a dangerous assignment, an international meeting of journalists broke up last year over the issue of issuing press cards and establishing a code of ethics for journalists. It is to the credit of the four western press organizations and the International Press Institute at this meeting that nothing came of this effort, which was endorsed by nine journalist groups from Communist and Third World countries.

However, there is some encouraging news. Almost a year ago, representatives of the world's free press met at the small lake-

side village of Talloires in the French Alps and resolved to fight any effort to set up a "New World Information Order." Known as the Talloires Declaration, over 60 leading editors from 20 countries termed press freedom a basic human right and called for the abolition of all forms of censorship—a stand profoundly endorsed by the Overseas Press Club of America.

Our own Freedom of the Press Committee constantly monitors violations of press freedom against any infringement. In charting its own course, it will continue to defend:

The right to seek and to obtain information

The right to receive information

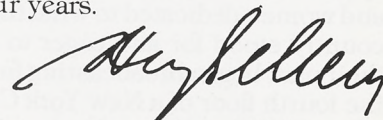
The right to impart and publish news and information

The right to be informed

In so doing, we confirm and support the people's need to know.

With this issue of **Dateline** magazine, my presidency of the Overseas Press Club comes to an end after four years, as required by the club's constitution. During that period, some progress has been made. We found a new home; the annual awards dinner has returned to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel; new members have been added; new life has been infused in the all-important Freedom of the Press Committee; our debt of four years has been reduced to manageable levels; the Overseas Press Club Foundation has been reorganized—and DATELINE is now completely produced by our own membership and is proving to be an editorial and financial success.

In saying farewell, I wish to thank the membership for the honor of serving during the past four years.

  
Henry Gellermann



**(From a letter by Thomas Jefferson written Jan. 16, 1787, in Paris, where he was the U.S. Minister to France, to a friend, Col. Edward Carrington in New York City—Editor)**

UNCERTAIN WHETHER you might be at New York at the moment of Col. Frank's arrival, I have inclosed my private letters for Virginia under cover to our delegation in general, which otherwise I would have taken the liberty to inclose particularly to you, as best acquainted with the situation of the persons to whom they are addressed. Should this find you at New York, I will still ask your attention to them...

In my letter to Mr. Jay I have mentioned the meeting of the notables appointed for the 29th

instant. It is now put off to the 7th or 8th of next month. This event, which will hardly excite any attention in America, is deemed here the most important one which has taken place in their civil line during the present century. Some promise their country great things from it, some nothing. Our friend de la Fayette was placed on the list originally. Afterwards his name disappeared, but finally was reinstated. This shows that his character here is not considered as an indifferent one; and that it excites agitation. His education in

our school has drawn on him a very jealous eye from a court whose principles are the most absolute despotism....

The tumults in America, I expected would have produced in Europe an unfavorable opinion of our political state, but it has not. On the contrary, the small effect of those tumults seems to have given more confidence in the firmness of our governments. The interposition of the people themselves on the side of the government has

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**(The following is excerpted from remarks by President Ronald Reagan at the Voice of America in Washington on its 40th anniversary, Feb. 24, 1982—Editor)**

FORTY YEARS AGO today, America opened up a crucial front in its war against the enemies of freedom. It was seventy-nine days after Pearl Harbor and the nation was mobilizing all its resources in the epic struggle that by then had encircled the planet.

In those days, as now, truth was a vital part of America's arsenal. A spirited band of professionals, men and women dedicated to what their country stood for and eager to do their part, began broadcasting from the fourth floor of a New York City office building. From this humble

beginning, the Voice of America has grown into a respected institution of American communication, a global radio network broadcasting 905 hours weekly in thirty-nine different languages.

Though born in war, the Voice of America continued in peace and has made enormous contributions. Today as we witness new forms of inhumanity threatening peace and freedom in the world, the Voice of America can perform an even more vital function. By giving an objective account of current world events, by communicating a clear

picture of America and our policies at home and abroad, the Voice serves the interests not only of the United States but of the world. The Voice is for many the only source of reliable information in a world where events move very quickly.

The challenges we face are no less grave and momentous than those that spawned the Voice forty years ago. Freedom is no less threatened, and the opposition is no less totalitarian. In this struggle,

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# DateLine '82

A publication of the  
Overseas Press Club  
of America

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## 1982, Vol. XXVI

Published by the Overseas Press Club of  
America, Inc. 52 East 41st Street,  
New York, N.Y. 10017

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**Publisher:** Henry Gellermann

**Art director:** Pierre Cooley

**Awards editor:** George Burns

**Advertising director:** Leonard Silverman

Printed by Pennyfeather Press,  
New York City

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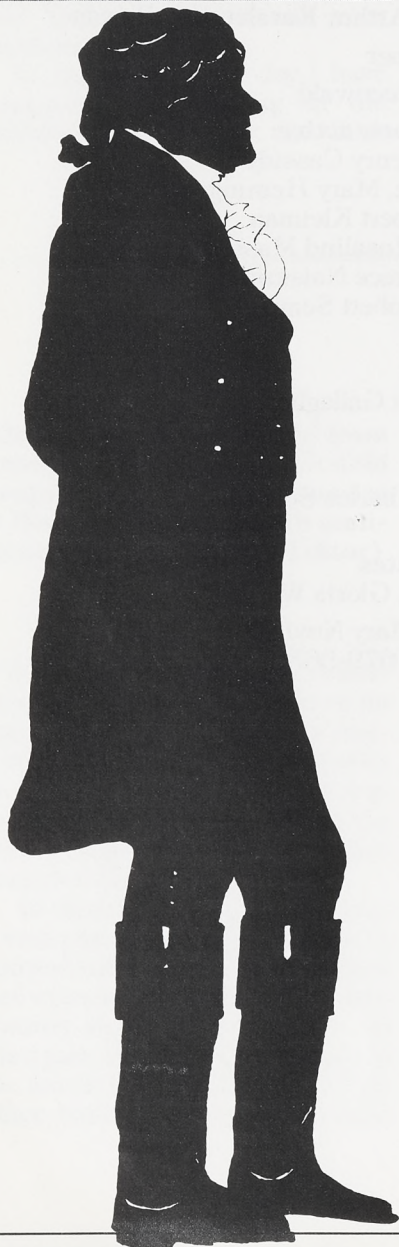
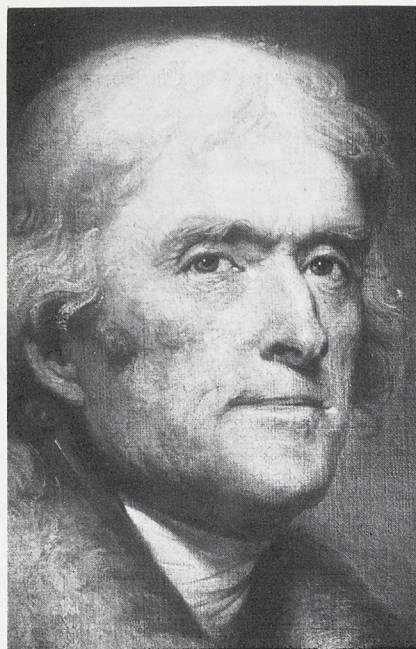
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had a great effect on the opinion here. I am persuaded myself that the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army. They may be led astray for a moment, but will soon correct themselves. The people are the only censors of their governors, and even their errors will tend to keep them to the true principles of their institutions. To punish these errors too severely would be to suppress the only safeguard of the public liberty. The way to prevent these irregular interpositions of the people is to give them full information of their affairs through the channels of the public papers, and to contrive that those papers should penetrate the whole map of the people. The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter; but I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them. I am convinced that those societies (the Indians) which live without government enjoy in their general map

an infinitely greater degree of happiness than those who live under European governments. Among the former, public opinion is in the place of law, and restrains morals as powerfully as any laws ever did anywhere. Among the latter, under pretense of governing, they have divided their nations into two classes, wolves and sheep. I do not exaggerate. This is a true picture of Europe. Cherish therefore the spirit of our people, and keep alive their attention. Do not be too severe upon their errors, but reclaim them by enlightening them. If once they become inattentive to the public affairs, you and I, and Congress, and assemblies, judges and governors, shall all become wolves. It seems to be the law of our general natures in spite of individual exceptions; and experience declares that man is the only animal which devours his own kind, for I can apply no milder term to the governments of Europe, and to the general prey of the rich on the poor. —

The want of news has led me into disquisition instead of narration... I will ask your permission to write to you sometimes, and to assure you of the esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be Dear Sir, Your most obedient and most humble servant,

*Th. Jefferson*



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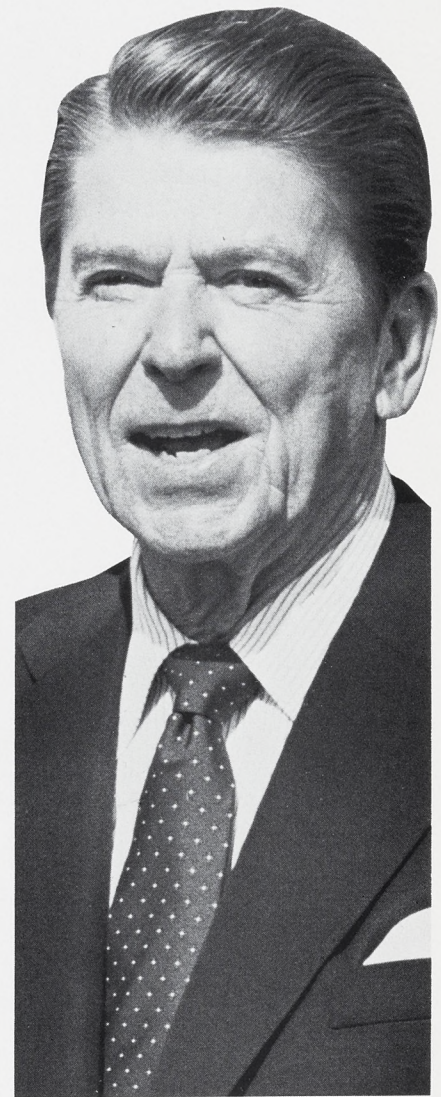
there is no greater weapon than the truth. Free men have nothing to fear from it. It remains the ultimate weapon in the arsenal of democracy. We're justifiably proud that the Voice of America is not only committed to telling its country's story, but also remains faithful to those standards of journalism that will not compromise the truth.

I know there is a great deal of discussion about the truth, as if there are degrees to truth. More than forty years ago I was a pioneer in radio, a sports announcer, and I found myself broadcasting major league baseball games from telegraphed reports. I was not at the stadium. A man at the other side of a window with headphones on and a typewriter would hear the dot and dash of the Morse code and type out and slip (the message) under the window, and knowing that there were six or seven other fellows broadcasting the same game—and you could take your choice of who you wanted to listen to—you had to keep right up with the play, even though you weren't there.

So you'd get a little slip and it would say, "Out. Six to three."

Well, number six on a team is the shortstop (and) number three is first base, so you knew that had to be a ground-out ball to the shortstop. If the game was rather dull, you could say, "It's a hard-hit ball down toward second base; the shortstop is going over after the ball and makes a wild stab, picks it up, turns, and gets him out just in time." I told the truth—if he was out from shortstop to first—and I don't know whether he really ran over toward second base and made a one-hand stab, or whether he just squatted down and took the ball when it came to him. But the truth got there, and, in other words, it can be attractively packaged.

Recently we celebrated the 250th birthday of George Washington. He understood the power of truth and its relationship to freedom. "The truth will ultimately prevail," he said, "where there are panes to bring it to light." Today we have this responsibility: bringing truth to light in a world groping in the darkness. Let us rededicate ourselves to the task ahead, and like the Founding Father, we can be confident that truth will prevail, and if truth prevails, freedom shall not perish from the earth.





# The need to know

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# We have to learn

by Charles E. Adelsen  
Foreign correspondent

ISTANBUL, Turkey—The formative stages that shaped democratic thought in the west, from Periclean Athens through Magna Carta to the American Bill of Rights, have no counterpart in pre-republican Turkish history, where vox populi was no voice at all. As late as 1859, there was no Turkish-managed, all-in-Turkish unofficial newspaper in the whole vast Ottoman empire.

The birth of the laic republic in 1923, and still later the establishment of a multi-party political system, saw the rise of a press that, even by western standards, was reasonably free. But it was easier for Turks to replace the fez with a fedora than it was to put on the unaccustomed voluntary restraints of democracy, and strident factionalism, something centuries old in Turkey, frequently perverted equally the purposes of press and parties.

In 1960 and again in 1971, the political structure went bankrupt, as the military, then as now, salvaged order out of chaos. Para-

doxically, it was the army, the only force cohesive enough and with prestige enough to bridge the gap between the worlds-apart segments of Turkey's social order, that, following its early coups, gave Turks their longest periods of constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the press, a sustained chance to satisfy the need to know.

Today, in the long wake of the coup of September 12, 1980, the familiar scenario repeats itself, with rewards of peace and democracy promised for waiting, while Turkey's soldiers reduce the violence of partisan militias at war with each other and repair the shattered economy. Given the unparalleled savagery of the late fighting in the streets, and the delicacy of Turkey's geopolitical situation, the touch of the iron hand in the velvet glove, so far as the press's ability to satisfy the need to know goes, is remarkably soft.

From Ankara, the state agency of Press and Information informs us that there is no control of the editorial contents or the distribution of foreign journals. It does advocate self-control on the part

of Turkish editors, whom the state advises with the pedagogic firmness that is characteristic of so much that this government says and does: "Publications in the broad sense are human products like any other goods and services, and it is useful for everybody to check, to submit them to quality controls: hence it will be useful and fitting for editors and journalists to control their own products."

When we asked Deputy Editor-in-Chief and Foreign News Editor Zafer Atay of the ardently rightist daily *Tercüman* (Interpreter) what his half-million readers journal felt about the need to know, he replied with a credo and some surprising reservations. "My paper is conservative...against communism...for friendship with the west as well as the Islamic world.

"We believe in a mixed economy. We are for Atatürk's reforms," adding, "of course nobody is going to put anything against these principles in this paper. Freedom of the press and the need to know have to have some limits. I've no doubt this is more or less the same all over the world."

Like *Tercüman*, the venerable daily *Cumhuriyet* (Republic), circulation 110,000, subscribes to Atatürk's somewhat Delphic maxim that "contemporary civilization is the aim of Turkish society." The polar opposite of *Tercüman*'s iron-clad conservatism, *Cumhuriyet* is the citadel of the cerebral left. *Cumhuriyet*'s youthful, academician-like Editor-in-Chief Hasan Cemal, has an unexpectedly conciliatory formula for bringing peace to the free-for-all, and sometimes deadly, arena of Turkish politics. Says he, "we have to learn the meaning of dialogue, of tolerance and of compromise."

One fears that unless dialogue, tolerance and compromise become meaningful to forty-five million Turks, the respite from violence provided by Turkey's pro-tem military administrators may only be the peaceful eye at the center of the hurricane, with even worse weather ahead. Should that be so, the common task of the country's stubbornly factional press would be to print the obituary of Turkish democracy.



—Photos by Henry Angelo-Castrillon ASMP

(Top) Reception for the late Shah of Iran at Istanbul's Dolmabahçe Palace on a visit to Turkey. (Left) A Turkish soldier on traffic duty in downtown Taksim Square. (Right) Turkish farmers at a village teahouse in Anatolia playing backgammon and drinking yoghurt and water.



# A basic right of mankind

by Yasushi Akashi  
Under-Secretary General  
for Public Information  
United Nations

NEW YORK—Oppression in societies is often the result of ignorance, bias and prejudice which can be mitigated by exposure to other points of view. Intolerance of any kind is, of course, inimical to freedom and to the pursuit of harmonious co-existence. In its work, the United Nations seeks to promote and maintain peace among nations through international understanding and respect for the diverse cultures and values of all societies.

The United Nations has declared that freedom of information is a basic right of all mankind. The General Assembly, in its Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, proclaimed that:

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

The mass communications media, including press, radio, television and the cinema, have an enormous potential for promoting mutual understanding. The Assembly has given strong testimony to this in the Declaration it adopted on the "Fundamental Principles concerning the contribution of the mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of Human Rights and to countering racialism, Apartheid and incitement to war."

Article II(2) of this Declaration is concerned with the "need to know" and reads as follows:

Access by the public to information should be guaranteed by the diversity of the sources



United Nations photo by Y. Nagata

**Yasushi Akashi**

and means of information available to it, thus enabling each individual to check the accuracy of facts and to appraise events objectively. To this end, journalists must have freedom to report and the fullest possible facilities of access to information. Similarly, it is important that the mass media be responsible to concerns of peoples and individuals, thus promoting the participation of the public in the elaboration of information.

The key premise of these declarations is that all peoples should have equal opportunity to give and receive information.

The General Assembly has also affirmed in a more recent pronouncement that there is a "need to establish a new, more just and more effective world information and communication order, intended to strengthen international peace and understanding based on free circulation and wider and better-balanced dissemination of information."

The mass communications infrastructures of many countries around the world require the assistance of the international community in order to develop to the point where they can participate competitively in the dissemination of information. To this end, UNESCO has developed its International Programme for the Development of Communication. It is one example of the steps that can be taken to bridge the communications gap between developed and developing countries, and I believe it deserves the support of all of us who subscribe to the principles of freedom of information and the need to know.

## Do the French want to know?

by Pamela Andriotakis  
People Magazine  
Paris, France

PARIS—The French never run short of opinion. Listening to them lends itself to the postulation that their thirst for information is unlimited. Their television and radio shows drone on with endless debates on every subject. The existence of a large variety of newspapers, with political leanings from the far left to the right extreme, suggests that the freedom of the press is abundant. Yet closer observation reveals that beyond appearances, the French need to know has well-established limits.

There is no *Washington Post* in France, nor is there likely to be a Watergate. That is not to say that the French are corruption-clean or scandal-free. What it does suggest is that their need to know is drawn on different scales than those applied in America. There is a standard of self-censorship in France, based on an attitude of skepticism and good taste, that keeps the French from believing half of what they hear and not wanting to know much of the rest. This allows the government a rather free reign in controlling information, since it limits the effectiveness of the press and encourages its cooperation in working within official boundaries.





Pamela Andriotakis

The government role in censorship is played with a not-so-subtle hand. The three-network television is a non-commercial monopoly whose directors are hand-picked by those in power. Despite

promises to "liberate" this media, the present situation is typical. Instead of shrugging television off as the mouthpiece of the Right, as was done before last year's presidential election, viewers now accuse the Socialist government of turning television into "blue-collar" color. Opinion polls show that programming is considered a pretty boring lot. Even the agriculture minister claims that the most interesting program on French T.V. is America's soap opera, DALLAS.

Print media does not fare much better. Investigative reporting is limited to foreign politics and cultural studies. Despite the presence of an active opposition press, the depths of its criticism is often limited. When France's most prominent paper *Le Monde* published articles in 1980 that threatened to stir up a political scandal, the government slapped a court injunction on the paper. It is no wonder that the media contents itself with government-fed in-

formation. The fear of rocking the wrong boat breeds a self-censored press that serves a nation of Doubting Toms. Deep Throat's lifespan in France would have been marked by a brief appearance in the satirical weekly *Le Canard Enchaîné*.

There is no puritan ethic here. The French assume that politics are corrupt. Thus convinced, anything that Deep Throat could tell them they would claim to know already. If given new facts, there is a common reaction of skepticism that leads the French to brush off information with the phrase, "they are hiding something." And if information could survive this cynicism and arrogance, it would still run headon into the barrier of "bon gout." For the French consider themselves well-bred, a qualification that places limits on criticism and prohibits discussing what is often considered none of one's business. When it comes to telling it like it is, chances are the French really don't want to know.

## Anchormen in uniform

by Burton Benjamin  
Senior executive producer  
CBS News

NEW YORK—One of the first things a broadcast journalist is apt to do when he arrives in Poland, as I did last year, is to look at what passes for television news. I was there with Walter Cronkite who, as a special correspondent in his post-anchorman assignment for CBS News, was doing a series of special reports for the Evening News.

What surprised me in those final, fateful weeks before martial law was ordered was the relative openness of the state-controlled broadcasts. Poland was in the last throes of the liberalization, the blossoming that began in the summer of 1980, and for an eastern bloc country, the news on television went beyond the sterility

that one has learned to expect.

Once martial law began, this rather mild freedom immediately ended. The regular news anchormen appeared in army uniforms, as vivid a reminder as you can get as to who was in charge. Even the slightest suggestion of dissidence was gone. It is easy to understand why one of Solidarity's demands had been access to Polish television. That dream, like so many others, was dead.

Free and open television would have been as threatening to the regime as any speech of Lech Walesa or any strike at a tractor factory.

The "right to know" is beset not only in Poland, but in much of the world today. Freedom House has reported that of 155 countries surveyed in 1980, the broadcast media were free in 36 countries, partly free in 34 and not free in 85.

In only 23 percent of the countries in the world are both print and broadcast media regarded as free.

The efforts by UNESCO and its new International Program for the Development of Communication —IPDC—are equally dismaying. Licensing journalists, under the guise of giving them "physical protection" if they fulfill governmental "objectives," is insidious.

As Dana Bullen of Washington told the UNESCO proponents at a Paris meeting: "A card in a reporter's pocket will not save him from a sniper or a mob. Newsmen are not expelled or jailed because nobody knows they are reporters. They are expelled or jailed because they **are** reporters."

The Talloires Declaration in May of 1981, at a meeting of all major western and some Third World news organizations, added this ringing affirmation: "We believe that the ultimate definition of a free press lies, not in the actions of governments or international bodies, but rather in the professionalism, vigor and courage of individual journalists."



**SPECIAL ISSUE**

# Newsweek

## What Vietnam Did to Us

**A Combat Unit Relives the War  
And the Decade Since**

**Every week you find  
the names of people you know.**

U.S. RUSHES 10,500  
TO MEET THREAT  
OF VIETNAM



**They've helped make  
ours a name  
millions of people know.**





# It is the only way

by Lester Bernstein  
Editor  
Newsweek Magazine

NEW YORK—Freedom can be exasperating. Our criminal justice system—even when it is functioning properly—is designed to set the guilty free rather than risk punishing the innocent. By the same token, the Constitutional guarantee of freedom of expression imposes onerous penalties. It licenses hate peddlers and pornographers. It cushions the arrogance of press lords. It has provided a scoundrel's refuge for union-busting proprietors. It shields the self-serving and the cynical, whether sensation-mongering publishers who dupe their readers or unscrupulous reporters who dupe their publishers. It imposes no standard of accuracy or fairness: it gives equal access to the lie and the truth, and all shades in between.

And yet. The cure for such penalties is a penalty profoundly worse. For all its shortfalls and

afflictions, the free press is as intrinsic to a democratic society as the free ballot. People cannot govern themselves without constant, unflinching scrutiny of those they elect to office. Only free journalism can provide that scrutiny, and spread the knowledge that alone can validate the voter's decisions—or, for that matter, the decisions of his elected representatives. Only free journalism can make public servants accountable, identifying the righteous and exposing the wrongdoer. Only free journalism can assure the will of the majority and the rights of the minority. At best, it is an imperfect way to let the truth be known—but it is the only way.

Increasingly in recent years, the freedom of the press has become identified as “the public's right to know.” That puts the emphasis where it belongs. For one thing, it properly implies that television and radio are no less qualified for freedom than the printed word, since the locution expresses a principle undated by



Lester Bernstein

technology. At a time when the public may be more alert to the fallibility of the Fourth Estate than ever before (and more allergic to its sanctimony), it makes sense to remind ourselves in whose ultimate behalf the media exercise freedom of expression. Finally, “the public's right to know” reflects the rationale and design of the Founding Fathers in their blueprint for a self-governing society.

Freedom can be exasperating—but it is infinitely preferable to the alternative.

## A column of understanding

by Branko Bogunovic  
New York bureau chief  
TANJUG Yugoslav News Agency

NEW YORK—Recently I had a friendly argument with an old friend from a leading American daily. The subject of the dispute was the ever-controversial issue of the free press.

My friend, a very stout follower of the well-known western views, strongly defended the thesis that true and complete freedom of the press exists only in the western, usually referred to as “the free world.” Everything else, he argued, was either a total control of the state over the press, or some kind of self-imposed control and censorship in which only positive writing appears. In this last category my friend included the ma-

jority of the media in the so-called Third World.

I tried to convince him that it is possible to approach the subject from a little different angle. To begin with, I reminded him that, while we were arguing this issue in New York City, there are still about fifty countries in the world that have no press at all, no news agencies, no TV networks, “Our polemics and big words about freedom of the press could sound quite ironic to them,” I remarked.

My friend partly agreed.

I then informed him that my news bureau in New York receives daily between 30 to 50 news items from the the national news agencies of the “third world.” These agencies have actually formed a new kind of information community that is called “the pool”—

a pool of the news agencies of the nonaligned countries.

At my friend's request, I further explained that this voluntary community of about seventy news agencies has not been formed “to challenge and confront,” as often is claimed, the existing systems of the big news organizations of the West. The main reason for the emergence of the pool was the wish of the participating countries to try to tell the world something more about themselves. To tell more of their emancipation efforts instead of coup-d'etats, corruptions and scandals, which they claim is the main subject of reporting in the western press.

At a certain point of our discussion, I showed my friend a pool news item on the opening of the first textile factory in a small



Third World country. For that nation, which had only recently gained independence and sovereignty, there was no doubt that this was the news of the day—"a front page story," as we say in our business.

Jokingly I asked my friend whether he had heard about this important event in a faraway small country of the Third World. He had not, of course, and how could he have?

I asked, then, if he thought it normal for that kind of news to make front pages in that particular country...or for that matter, in any other country of the same kind. He understandingly agreed that yes, it was normal and OK.

"Would a news item, let us say, on the first textile factory in the Seychelles ever get frontpage coverage in his big American daily?" was my next question.

"Frankly, the odds for something like that to happen are one in 1,000," replied my friend.

I was also aware of the problem. But in that awareness, the awareness of two separate and very dif-



**Branko Bogunovic**

ferent realities, I recognized one of the sources of many misunderstandings, misjudgments, and sometimes serious conflicts between our two worlds.

Our friendly arguments, nevertheless, ended in a peaceful draw.

At the end I proposed or, better to say, asked another friend if it would be against the interests of his big daily to start a small weekly column comprising news

items like the first sugar processing plant in Trinidad...the first textile factory in Mozambique...the first normal college in...etc. One column in a big Sunday edition of 100 pages. Would it be against the basic principles of the free press or that old rule of "all the news that's fit to print"?

For the column I even suggested a name—"the column of understanding." My friend did not accept the idea immediately, but he did not reject it, either. Instead he said, "Argue your case more convincingly."

I am trying to do that just now, believing that it is in full compliance with our general theme, "the need to know." My understanding is that the need to know also includes the need to be known more objectively.

As for "the column of understanding," I remain deeply convinced that it would be a small but important step to better understanding, more confidence, and more symbolic bridges over the wide gap which still divides the First and Third Worlds.

## Where nobody knows

by Jay Bushinsky  
Special correspondent  
The Chicago Sun-Times

TEL AVIV—Everything we know about the world around us, except what we learned in school, derives from the news media—press, radio, TV, films and books. But how many Americans have paused to consider where and how they get their information? And few—too few—have considered the consequences of interference with the news media at home, and especially abroad.

A glaring example is Iran. For more than a decade, while the late Shah seemed to be the all-powerful ruler of a nation destined to turn oil into vast industrial wealth, foreign correspondents stopped short of telling the Iranian story as it really was: seething with popular unrest fueled by vengeful Islamic fundamentalists determined to

stop the secularization of the nation.

To seek out opposition leaders meant trouble with the Iranian secret police and summary expulsion from the country, which happened to a small minority of dedicated journalists. The alternative was easier—avoid political involvement or stay away from Iran. The unfortunate result was shock and confusion on the part of the American public when the Shah's "popular" regime proved unable to cope with unrest, and the 20,000 Americans working in Iran were hounded out of the country—not to mention the humiliating seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran.

If the Iranian situation can be described as disinformation—something the Israelis, among others, were also guilty of perpetrating—the Afghan situation can be termed non-information. The

Soviet Union's military takeover of that country included the prompt expulsion of western reporters and a subsequent news blackout shrouding the real situation. As one experienced television editor said, "if the American networks cannot cover the Afghanistan invasion, it will cease to be a story in the United States." Unfortunately he was right, and perhaps the Russians knew it would be just that: a story emanating from secondary and therefore questionable sources, such as Pakistan or wherever.

Here in the Middle East, where Arabs and Israelis still are in a state of war, cold for the time being but always potentially hot, information is regarded as an extremely sensitive commodity. The Israelis have maintained a usually benign but often exasperating system of military censorship since their independence 34 years ago. As a result, developments that affect their regional and international relations can be suppressed in the interests of national security, only



ABC NEWS abc





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—AP Laserphoto

**Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin at the opening of the Knesset in Jerusalem last summer.**

to emerge unexpectedly from unforeseen quarters at inconvenient or inappropriate times.

In the Arab world, including Egypt, which is unique for having made peace with Israel, there is no independent press. Arabic language media, both print and electronic, are owned by governments or ruling political parties, as are the various non-Arabic outlets in the Arab world—such as **The Jordan Times**, **Egyptian Gazette** and sister publications.

Information is not disseminated at all in the Arab states, insofar as touchy military matters are concerned. A recent example: the Jordanian media omitted references to F-16 jets and mobile

Hawk missiles from reports of Defense Secretary Weinberger's recent visit, while the international press made them the centerpiece of the story.

Ultimately, it is up to foreign correspondents to break through the world's information barriers—a formidable and often dangerous undertaking. If this proves impossible, people of the free world will unwittingly make incorrect political judgments, and the ability of their governments to develop sensible and realistic foreign policies will be crippled—largely because the voters (readers, listeners and viewers) will be unable to judge the skill and wisdom of their elected representatives.

## An undeniable need

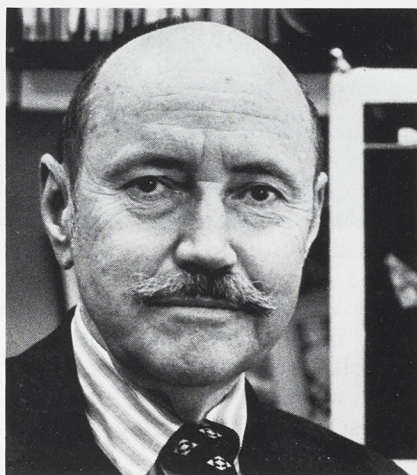
by John L. Cobbs  
Editor  
Business Week Magazine

NEW YORK—The idea that all people everywhere have a basic "need to know" emerged relatively late in the history of human thought. Plato saw no good reason for his philosopher king to waste time sharing information so that his subjects could second-guess him. And Louis XIV was scarcely endorsing freedom of information when he declared, "L'etat, c'est moi." Recognition of the need to know was a product of the thinking of the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on the power of human reason and the accountability of authority.

The need to know is implicit in the theory of government that underlies the Declaration of Independence. For if "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," then the people must have access to complete and accurate information about the problems their nation faces and the steps their government is taking. Without such information there can be no informed consent, and consequently no government authority that could be termed "just" by the standards of the 1776 Declaration.

Any government that calls itself democratic must be willing to seek the consent of those it governs on the basis of full and undistorted reporting of its record.

Like many of the great ideas of the Enlightenment, the need to know has been appropriated and neatly turned inside out by officials—in this country and elsewhere—who regard secrecy as an important instrument of government. Increasingly, need to know has become the standard for deciding whether or not an individual is entitled to see a particular piece of classified information. The trouble with such a standard is



**John L. Cobbs**

that it makes ignorance the norm and shifts the burden of proof from the person who wants to conceal to the person who wants to know.

Such a standard must be applied to some kinds of military information—and perhaps sometimes to foreign policy matters. It should never be extended to government as a whole. And it should not under any circumstances be applied to information about economic performance or the affairs of great corporations. The U.S. learned a bitter lesson in 1929 and in the Great Depression about the danger of treating the records of corporate performance as private property. The Securities & Exchange acts of the middle Thirties established principles that should be the standards for the world. Any enterprise, whether public or private, that employs people, supplies essential goods to people, or invites people to invest their money in its undertakings, owes the public full disclosure of its resources, its actions, and its success or failure.

The need to know is undeniable in any nation that accepts or even pretends to accept democratic principles. It is only when a part of the world has reverted to tyranny or oligarchy that information becomes the property of the government, to be rationed out to the people as officials see fit.



# A new kind of journalism

by J. B. Conkling  
Director  
Voice of America

WASHINGTON—Never has the role of international broadcasting been the subject of such intense scrutiny. We now confront intense competition from the Soviet Union and other lesser powers for the attention of our more than 100 million listeners worldwide.

Voice of America broadcasts are rooted in the Congressional Charter known as Public Law 94-350 of July 1976. The VOA Charter incorporates principles which have been fundamental to our credibility since we began broadcasting forty years ago:

- to serve as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of accurate, objective and comprehensive news.
- to represent many segments of American society by presenting a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions.
- to present the politics of the United States clearly and effectively, and to engage in responsible discussion and expression of opinion on these policies.

Recently, world events have challenged the Voice of America to demonstrate once again its strength in times of international crisis. Coverage of the resistance

against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan continues to be a staple of VOA programming. And responding to the declaration of martial law in Poland, the Voice of America has increased its Polish language broadcasts almost three-fold and expanded its English broadcasts to Poland. The radio adaptation of our parent organization, the U.S. Communication Agency's telecast "Let Poland Be Poland," reached our global audience in thirty-nine languages in areas which the telecast could not penetrate.

The appeal of our broadcasting in the 1980's will come from a new kind of "global journalism." We and other western broadcasters target our programs to our audiences. We provide insights absent from the product of the major wire services and television networks, and from their own local media, which often censor the news or have too few resources to provide a multi-dimensional analysis.

The Voice of America functions as a source of information for peoples deprived by their own repressive regimes from learning not only the truth, but the context in which events occur. VOA has avid listeners among people in countries where the local media network is underdeveloped and does not provide adequate international coverage. Sophisticated listeners elsewhere who do have



J. B. Conkling

access to a wealth of global information, turn to the Voice of America for its particular flavor of news and commentary. With the principles of our Charter as a guide, our audiences recognize that the Voice of America provides them with broad-gauged information as well as commentary on American foreign policy—each distinct from the other, and each serving our listeners.

In his remarks on the 40th anniversary of the Voice of America Feb. 24, President Reagan reaffirmed our mandate: to broadcast the truth. Our audiences will tell you that VOA does this very well.

**[Mr. Conkling resigned as VOA director March 22—Editor]**

## Poland's right to know

by John Darnton  
Warsaw bureau chief  
The New York Times

WARSAW, Poland—In theory, the people of Poland have the right to full information about events in their country, but in practice, this right can be circumscribed when the information is deemed dangerous by the authorities, according to Jerzy Urban, the government spokesman.

Mr. Urban, for many years a journalist with *Polytika*, a pres-

tigious Communist Party weekly, said he believes the public's "right to know" should exist "not just in the abstract but in concrete form.

"But in turn, I do not think of it as an absolute, as do the ideologues of the American press. There are times when, as one of the people who ration this information, I myself have great reservations about whether some of it should be released, and sometimes I stop the information."

He cited as an example a delay in informing the public about

higher postal rates, because the government "feared the reaction" when combined with news about impending food price increases, and did not want to "add fuel to the fire at this particular moment."

He was asked whether, given the volatile public mood, the government would be justified in trying to keep a major strike in the country somewhere a secret. Such a decision, he said, would be a difficult one to make and not be prejudged, especially if one "realizes that such information could cause a wave of strikes to spread and, at the same time, one has in hand the possibility of hiding or



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what we would call minimizing a certain kind of information."

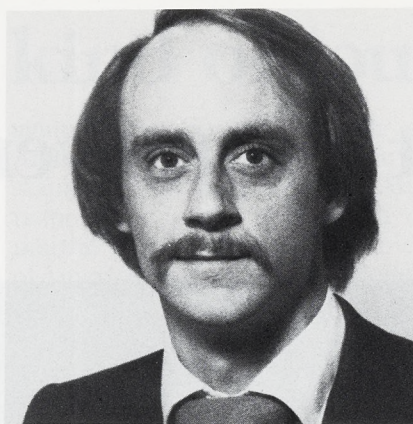
Is it ever justifiable to hold back information out of a sense of higher good? "Over the long range, this kind of method does not make any sense, but in a concrete situation it is sometimes worthwhile to minimize the information or delay it, if balanced against the ideals of a free flow of information and the society's right to be informed stands the danger of spreading disturbances that could threaten the state.

"I am only saying that such matters should be taken into consideration, and my own opinion is that hiding causes more evil than good."

Is the public's right to know compatible with Communism?

"This question is very unprecise. Treating it seriously, I want to express the opinion that one of the features of socialism should be the wide availability of information to society about everything, although it does often happen that this is not so."

Mr. Urban said he agreed that one of the causes of the workers' revolt in the summer of 1980 was public anger over dishonest government propaganda. He said the propaganda "served more to satisfy



John Darnton

the imagination of those who directed it than the needs of society," but he also insisted that a number of newspapers under the regime of Edward Gierek, the now disgraced party leader, carried critical articles that helped to shape public opinion.

Asked if there were not a danger that the tightly-controlled press and television under martial law would enflame the anger once again, he said he was "not happy with the propaganda system," and added: "I hope it will quickly change." He said he believed that "freedoms in presenting various opinions" would soon grow, even before formal lifting of martial law.

ability of the principle itself.

However, some sore points do come out when this principle is applied to real life. This need/right to know—and its obvious equivalent, the right to publish: are they absolute, are they supreme above all others?

I believe they do have their own limits, as all human rights. They can indeed be pushed to excess, as in some cases of individual privacy violated for cheap exploitation. The "right of people to know" can be evoked as an easy alibi where professional/commercial competition is really the motive. "Information" can be a protective label under which partisan politics is unfairly contrabanded.

For us Washington correspondents, the American "tradition" of leaks is an important source of news. But honestly, how often they overdramatize by misrepresenting possibilities for certainties, preliminary findings for final results, contingency plans for operative plans, options under study for decisions taken... An unbiased observer (as we try to be) will not fail to mention those leaks, but in all fairness he will also bring them into real perspective.

This opens a whole new question. The public's "right to know" implies a responsibility to an objective and honest submission of information from the media, however free. But how to define objective and honest reporting?

I am convinced myself that it is impossible to set on paper a number of "rules" to ensure this result, as proven by so many unsatisfactory attempts. But I also believe that this elusive formula can be recognized and honoured, quite pragmatically, when we sit down at our typewriters. The fact of writing as I do for an independent news agency, rather than a single political newspaper, is not without bearing on what I am saying. For me it is not so much a matter of a nice, clean set of do's and don'ts. It is a mental attitude of "neutrality" and fairness. A humble admission—to oneself as well as to others—that our reporting is not **bestowing** final truths and ultimate understanding, but is only a part in the process.

## Rights carry responsibilities

by Fabrizio del Piero  
Washington correspondent  
ANSA Italian News Agency

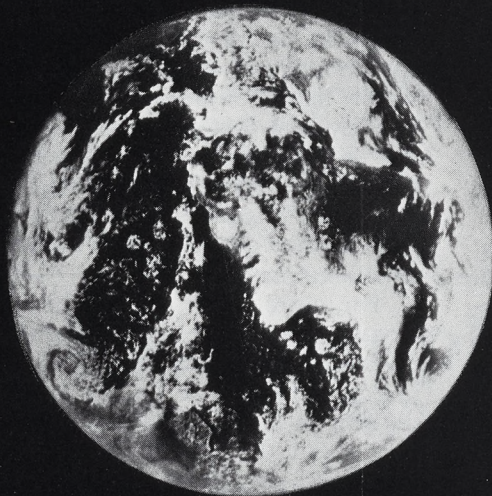
WASHINGTON—The Orwellian nightmare for year 1984, so dangerously close now, made the point quite well. In order to suppress independent thinking, Big Brother needs more than muzzle the people themselves. A safer, subtler way is to obstruct their **input** of information, and you will take away the very base on which a dissenting opinion can form.

By no chance, nowadays, frequent coups in underdeveloped countries seem to center on control of the national radio: the main or only vehicle of information for

the illiterate, scattered crowds. By no chance are western publications and broadcasts so severely hampered across the Iron Curtain.

Luckily in our democracies the role and importance of a free press have been epitomized in no less than its definition as "The Fourth Power." I don't think that anyone having enjoyed the stimulation, the human richness of a free flow of information will advocate its opposite. Doubts may be vented on what percentage of our public is actually able and willing to think with their own heads. Fears may be raised that the present deluge of information is by itself growing beyond control. But we can't seriously dispute about the desir-





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**NBC NEWS**



# Is anybody listening?

by H. Peter Dreyer  
European news editor  
New York Journal of Commerce

BRUSSELS—Media life in the European Community, as so much else in this wondrous organization, is quite different from that normally encountered in national capitals. "Need to know" attitudes and policies, if the term "policy" is not in itself an overstatement, are no exception.

That is not to say that leaks, be they deliberate or accidental, do not occur. So at times do strenuous efforts to withhold information. But where secrecy is considered important, this will more often than not be on procedural (and shortlived) grounds: a note sent by the E. C. Commission (the Community's principal executive) to the Minister or a member state, for instance, should reach its addressee before he sees it in the public prints.

In actual fact, such efforts, including those with weightier motivations where intricate proposals or negotiations might be involved, rarely turn out to be very successful. It is not just that more than 300 media representatives from every corner of the globe keep the Commission and other E. C. agencies under steady and intent scrutiny—and normally meet once every day for briefings at which they swap news, rumors and gossip. Very often also it may suit the convenience of the one or other of the more than 100 diplomatic missions accredited to the E. C., or of one of the still more numerous lobbies operating here, to pass on to the media such scraps of information as may already have come their way.

Yet, the E. C.'s real problems in this field are other ones. For the Common Market, now fast approaching its 25th anniversary, is still quite some distance away from being a solidly established body. Unlike the 10 countries belonging to it, or for that matter most other nations throughout the

world, the E. C. has not yet reached the point where its existence, its operations and its activities are simply taken for granted by everyone. Even at this stage, and while this is probably just a little silly, the regular crises evolving within E. C. keep triggering just as regularly articles questioning whether it will survive.

Far more likely, the cliché of having moved beyond the point of no return, so frequently employed in connection with the E. C., hits the nail on the head. But if speculation about the E. C.'s demise is misplaced, it remains a shadowy affair to public opinion in most member states or—worse still—finds itself turned into a universal scapegoat.

To some extent, this is due to media reports highlighting the (recurrent) crisis situations and very little else. To some extent, too, it has to do with positive results, if and when they are attained eventually, being mostly so highly involved and technical that the general public will not grasp their intricacies, nor indeed care.

It is this wall of ignorance and apathy that the E. C. agencies' information work must break through: in its general implications, that objective is fully understood. But its implementation leaves much to be desired if the Community's current image is taken as a yardstick. The one thing which can be said without fear of contradiction is that the substantial sums available for information purposes, the masses of paper in every shape and size, the audio-visual material and whatever else has been laid on the line, have failed to do the trick.

Largely, of course, this will have been so because the E. C. itself has fallen distinctly short of what its founders—and, more particularly, its citizens and its well-wishers elsewhere in the world—had hoped it would turn into. Perhaps such expectations had been unrealistic all along; assuredly they have become so, as memories of the Europe of the

1930s and the 1940s have faded, and national and indeed nationalistic attitudes have reasserted themselves with steadily greater vigor.

For the E. C. information policy to come to terms with, let alone to master this changing state of affairs, would have required truly superhuman powers and abilities. But not only are the people who devise and execute such policy anything but superhuman: they suffer additionally from the fact that as a majority they are officials (rather than communications and information experts), bound by the rules of officialdom, and operating within its self-evident frontiers. While such a (far from novel) condition may be bad within a national frame of reference, it becomes altogether intractable in a melee of different languages, disparate cultures, and conflicting national interests.

As seen by the press corps, this may not be as bad as it sounds. True, the press here cannot now, and never could in the past, count on well-circumscribed policy patterns to give it the guidance it might perhaps welcome. In exchange, it more than makes up for this by not normally having to worry about undue interference from the various authorities with which it has to deal.

## The need to believe

by Erich Eichman  
Managing editor  
The New Criterion

NEW YORK—I suppose it is always better for people to know than not to know whatever it is that matters to them. In a democracy, knowing is more than desirable—it is needful, since governance is grounded in the idea of a citizenry informed about matter that affects its votes. Of course, the need to know many things does not imply the right to know everything, because rights are plenary, and we can all think of circumstances



where the preservation of democracy itself depends on people **not** knowing. Should **The New York Times** have leaked the site of the Normandy invasion?—do I really need to ask? A few unsavory people have wrongly used a distinction of this kind to justify anti-democratic actions, but unsavory people are in the habit of abusing principles: that doesn't make the principles less just.

This high-minded scheme of things puts the press in a rather difficult spot. Just as a citizen's knowing derives, not from introspection, but from information received from somebody else (from a journalist, say), so too does the journalist's. Both citizen and journalist must attempt to determine the truth, a process that has as much to do with the mind acting upon "facts" as with the facts themselves. What journalists have is what citizens have: an **idea** of truth, derived in part from the willful exercise of faith and hope and skepticism and ideology upon "the facts."

This does not mean that there is no such thing as truth, and that we'd all better give up searching for it and just compare mythologies. In a democracy, ideas of truth compete by rules and toward ends democratically arrived at, democratically expressed. Along the way, fortunately, these ideas of truth are subjected to tests of validity (in hearing rooms and in the courts, for instance) perhaps outside the purview of journalists.

That is why it's no insult to journalists to say, as Edward J. Epstein has, that "there's a very crucial difference between the news and the truth." In a democracy, the news plays a part in arriving at the truth, and let's thank goodness for **that**. In another political system—in, say, that of a good ninety percent of those countries pushing for a New Information Order—the difference between the news and the truth is quite a different thing.

Democracy and the knowing upon which democratic decisions are based, then, derive equally from the idea of freedom; and with the idea of freedom comes lots of moral weight. To put it another

way: even if we cannot finally judge the truth or sufficiency of what we know, as journalists and citizens, in order that certain important acts of will take over where "the facts" fail us, we can certainly judge the right and wrong of what it is we have finally chosen to believe. That seems obvious enough, but things have gotten so confused of late that charges of "propaganda" and "disinformation" and "censorship" are directed toward the White

House and the Kremlin in about equal shares.

Maybe it's time journalists became less high-minded about the "need to know" and came to recognize the "need to believe"—and the need to judge belief according to principles we can agree upon, and according to principles we cannot afford not to honor, like those essential to democracy itself.

## What people want to know

by Aaron Einfrank  
Radio Free Europe  
Munich, West Germany



—Sigma photo by Regis Bossu; photo courtesy New York Times

**"We don't want any Hiroshima". West German peace demonstrators in Bonn during European anti-nuclear protests last winter.**

MUNICH—There is a certain irony, even eeriness, in writing this from Munich. This city is identified with appeasement and the "peace in our time" era that led to World War Two. There are no Brown Shirts running around Munich now. But today there is nevertheless a parallel here and in other west European cities to the tragedy of appeasement and the false peace hopes of the 1930s.

Most West Germans want to avoid conflict with the Russians as earnestly as Neville Chamberlain desired peace with Hitler in 1938. The problem is not the need to know—it is what people **want** to know. Hard facts like the Soviet military buildup, Afghanistan and Poland can be conveniently forgotten. It is much easier to make a villain out of the United States for wanting to redress the nuclear balance with the Soviet Union, than to face up to the ugly reality of Soviet expansionism.

The peace movement today is blooming in West Germany. More than 300,000 people will show up at a peace rally in Bonn aimed at scuttling NATO plans to deploy medium-range missiles to counter Soviet SS-20 missiles already deployed against NATO. But only a few thousand turn out for demonstrations protesting the rape of Poland, Afghanistan or the massacres in Southeast Asia.



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The Reagan Administration takes solace that Moscow and its fellow travelers are deeply involved in orchestrating much of the west European peace movement—as if this were to make the movement meaningless. True, there is Soviet orchestration. The demonstrations are too well organized and too-well financed to be spontaneous. In November, the normally bland Danish government had to expel a Soviet diplomat for being too involved with the movement. The Danes also arrested one of their own freelance journalists who was working closely with the KGB in the peace movement. But even with KGB involvement taken into



Aaron Einfrank

account, there are a great many West Germans, Danes, and other west Europeans who are quite willing to be used, either out of fear of war or a belief that everything will turn out okay as long as the Russians are not ruffled.

(It's okay to ruffle the Americans—they didn't invade Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 or force the imposition of martial law in Poland in December 1981.)

In 1938, few in the western democracies were willing to oppose Hitler over Czechoslovakia. Today, for most West Germans as well as many other west Europeans, Poland also is expendable.

Besides fear, there are political and economic factors. The left wing of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's Social Democrats sees the path of German reunification leading through Moscow rather than

Washington. Perhaps these leftist reunification hopes are unrealistic. But Germans and Russians have often found common cause at Poland's expense in the past. And at any rate, why upset the beautiful reunification dream by antagonizing Moscow, just because the Russians are being bloody to the Poles?

Schmidt was visiting East Germany when martial law was declared in Poland. He didn't think it worthwhile to break off his visit, despite the fact that East Germany was leading the east bloc in demanding the scalp of Solidarity and calling for a crackdown in Poland. State-controlled radio and television in West Germany tend to play down Poland just as Schmidt does. But things would not be rectified if the media took a different line. In fact, Schmidt and the news media reflect grassroots feeling in West Germany.

I go to the kiosk to pick up my daily supply of West German newspapers. The kiosk owner reviles Americans for allegedly resuming the cold war. The kiosk owner is honest. He knows what he wants to know. I tell him to wait until the Russians come and then let me know how he feels about the world situation.

On my way home with my newspapers, I have a second thought. How can I—an American—be angry with a kiosk owner who is afraid of war? Didn't we Americans stage our own peace movement that contributed to the betrayal and massacre of our allies in Southeast Asia? Didn't Afghanistan, Angola and Poland flow from the false hopes of detente that were fostered by Washington only a few years ago? After Yalta, Vietnam and detente, can we really blame the Europeans for behaving the way they do?

## The First Amendment bomb

by Osborn Elliott  
Dean

Graduate School of Journalism  
Columbia University

NEW YORK—In her *Newsweek* column the other week, Meg Greenfield was musing about the general messiness of our open society, and the advantages accruing to the Soviets from their tight-fisted control of information. "I sometimes have this fantasy," she wrote, "that the Soviet system falls apart and begins to resemble ours because we have dropped a non-lethal but absolutely destructive weapon called the First Amendment bomb on them..."

Greenfield conjured up some headlines about the Polish crisis that might have sprouted in a free Soviet press, including this classic: RED ARMY REPORTEDLY ANGRY AT SMALL ROLE ENVISIONED IN POLAND. Instead, of course, there was only an "eerie silence" in the Soviet press,



Osborn Elliott

against which "our own disheveled and undisciplined blathering (appeared) all the more reckless and self-damaging."

What to do?

The White House has responded to recent leaks of its



cherished secrets with a spate of polygraph tests, tighter restrictions and security classifications, and threats of restrictive legislation. But the harm, as Greenfield warned, "will come from what grows in the darkness when too much information is put beyond the reach of any but a few."

True enough—but is that truth enough?

I think there is more to be said on the matter. It seems to me that the press has a responsibility—not to suppress leaked information, but to weigh it carefully as to motive, substance and effect. After Vietnam, after Spiro Agnew, after Watergate, after Wilbur Mills, after Wayne Hays, after Abscam, after the corporate payoffs abroad, it is small wonder that the press has been going about its business with a far greater degree of wariness and suspicion than in a more innocent past.

But I think the pendulum has swung too far—most notably in the case of the recently leaked private remarks of Alexander Haig. It's time for the gatekeepers of journalism to guard their gates a bit more diligently. We can still enjoy the fruits (and suffer the inconveniences) of our open society without automatically splashing every behind-the-scenes comment of a high government official that happens to serve the purpose of some scheming leaker on the inside.

There will always be leaks—and many of them will continue to serve the purpose of bringing to light what Americans need to know. But if editors respond by mindlessly printing everything that is leaked, they run the risk of reverting to a form of Joe McCarthy-era journalism. Just because somebody has said (or leaked) something doesn't mean it's news.

Sometimes, when we print such stuff, we are simply playing the game of some insider with a personal axe to grind—and to hell with the operations of government or the public interest. Such a person, come to think of it, pretty well qualifies as a "duplicitous bastard."

# Government needs to know

by Earl W. Foell  
Editor

The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON—Churchill said that democracy is the worst form of government—except for all the others.

Freedom of the press presents a similar paradox. If one looks at some of the silly, mistaken, even occasionally malicious things scribbled in the name of journalism, it isn't surprising that a fair portion of the public gets restless about the press from time to time.

One antidote: better performance and higher standards on our part. Another antidote: a look at societies that don't allow freedom of press and speech.

There's nothing like a classic dictatorship, right or left, to make Churchill's point hit home—about both democracy and its handmaiden, the free press.

Any of us who care about journalism can orate about the role of the press as a surrogate for the citizen in a democracy. The citizen's 'need to know' issue is discussed so often in our gatherings that I'd like to turn in a different direction here.

Citizens are too busy—and live too far away from the center of power—to monitor personally the government they are supposed to control with their votes. So of course they have a need to know—via some impartial set of eyes and ears—what the director and stagehands in that government are up to. But what of the government officials themselves? They are at the center of power. But how well do they know what is going on throughout the realm? Or even in the bureaucracies around them?

We pride ourselves on our role of informing the people about their government. We ought to remind ourselves frequently about our role in the opposite direction: informing elected officials (and other

leaders of society as well) about what is going on around them. Democracy depends just as much on having these temporarily-elevated citizens (presidents, senators, governors, corporate CEOs, deans, etc.) get accurate information about their own bureaucracies and about the public.

Without a tough-minded but fair-minded press, leaders can't be sure of what is going on. These leaders have as much need to know as their fellow citizens do. And they don't always get such knowledge through their own bureaucratic channels. They need an independent double-check on what their diplomats, spies, and staff analysis are telling them. We need trickle-up journalism as well as trickle-down.

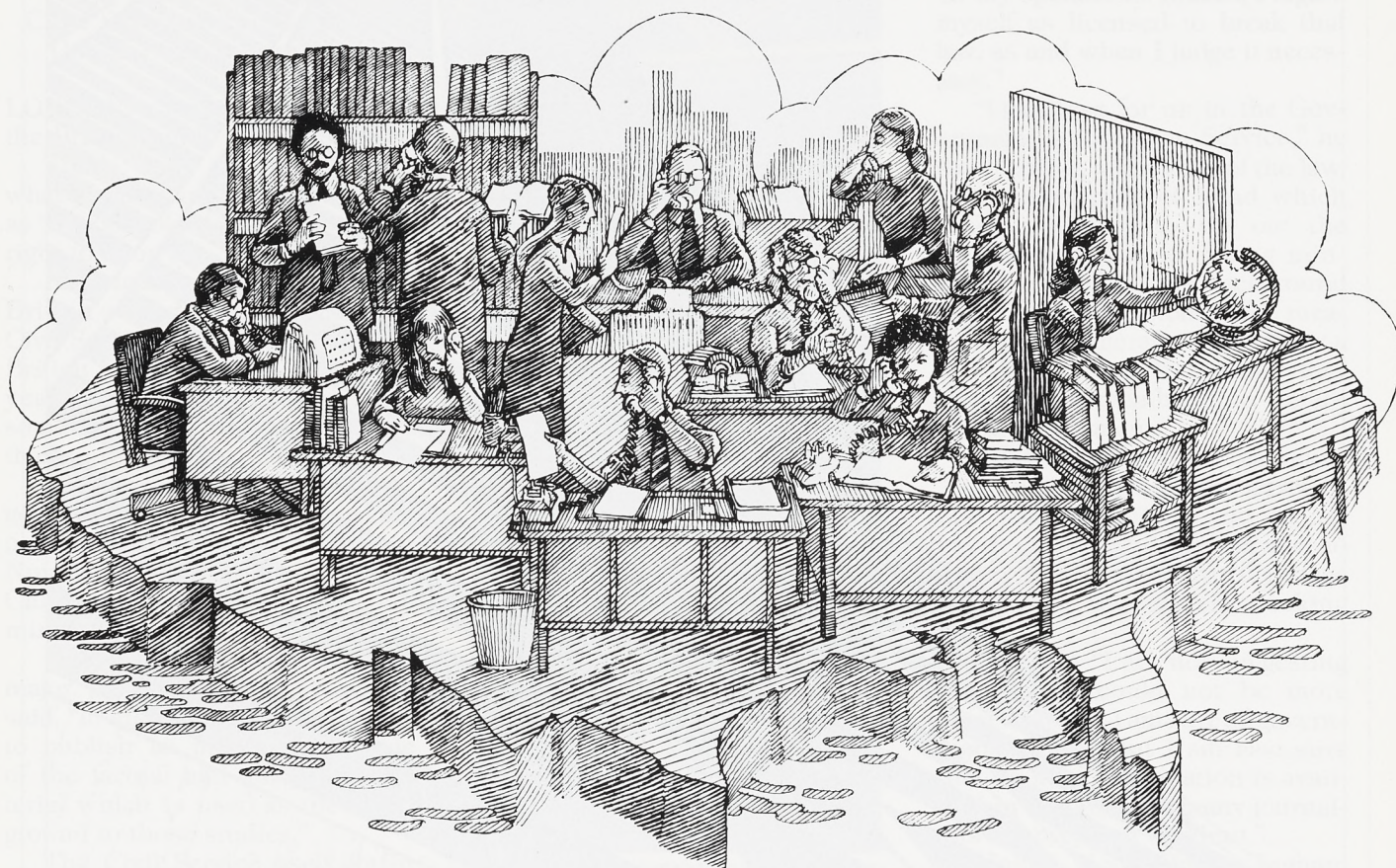
Daniel Boorstin correctly identified the degree to which "pseudo-events" (such as news-managing press announcements) are influencing the torrent of news that pours in upon people today. We are likely to have even more pseudo-events in the future. There's more air time to fill in a world wired for cable. There's much more news reverberation with a sky full of echoing satellites.

Given this situation the temptation for news managing is bound to increase. Respectable politicians, business leaders, scientists, sociologists, and labor leaders—as well as assorted charlatans—will want to tailor news from their areas in the best-dressed fashion for the public. Lobbyists with assorted aims will seek to influence leaders and public.

In such a climate, the need for shrewd, dispassionate, hard-digging reporting is almost certain to be greater than ever. The need to know—accurately—is growing. And leaders have just as great a need as the citizens who hand them power—even though they continue to have a penchant for shooting the messenger.



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# A relatively new concept

by Joseph W. Grigg  
Chief European correspondent  
United Press International

LONDON—"Open government" the British call it.

That's their jargon name for what's known in the United States as "freedom of information" or "the right to know."

It's a relatively new concept in Britain's traditionally secretive Civil Service. But it's been official British government policy for five years now—although perhaps sometimes still more in theory than in practice.

It first emerged as official government policy, buried in a long parliamentary statement back in November, 1976, by James Callaghan, the Laborite prime minister.

"When the government makes major policy studies," Callaghan said, "it will be our policy in future to publish as much as possible of the factual and analytical material which is used as the background to those studies."

The Civil Service itself got in on the act eight months later with a directive by Sir Douglas Allen, at that time Head of the Home Civil Service, to government department chiefs. Briefly, it told them to relax some of the information roadblocks beloved by British officials.

"In the past," Allen said, "it has normally been assumed that background material relating to policy studies and reports would NOT be published, unless the responsible minister or ministers decided otherwise. Henceforth, the working assumption should be that such material WILL be published unless they decide they should not be."

Britain's present Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has carried on and expanded that policy.

She told parliament last year "We are committed to making available as much information as possible and are doing so."

How do Britain's 200 or so



—Camera Press photo by Terry Kirk

**British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher outside her official residence, 10 Downing Street in London.**

government press spokesmen interpret this policy? The best man to ask is Bernard Ingham, Mrs. Thatcher's press secretary, an affable and unexpectedly outspoken Yorkshireman, himself a former newspaper reporter, but a civil servant for the past 15 years.

In the British tradition of a non-partisan Civil Service, he has acted at various times as spokesman for such an unlikely mix of bosses as left wing Laborite Anthony Wedgwood "Tony" Benn, Conservative Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, and now Mrs. Thatcher herself.

In addition to operating as the Prime Minister's press secretary, Ingham also is responsible for coordinating government information policy. Ingham puts it like this.

"I have never regarded the Official Secrets Act as a constraint

on my operations. Indeed, I regard myself as licensed to break that law, as and when I judge it necessary."

"Openness for us in the Government Information Service," he says, "is not a function of the law. It is an attitude of mind which seeks positively to set out the options and choices facing ministers; to explain the background to policies, decisions and measures; and generally to make for a more informed public, more rather than less sympathetic to democratic government."

"That concept," he explains, "does not stretch to making available indiscriminately and on demand each and every paper—no matter how tentative or the stage reached in the decision-making process."

He adds "I am not suggesting government could not be more open than it is. I am sure all governments could. But I am also sure that far more information is available in Britain than many journalists are prepared to admit."

Unlike U.S. officials, Ingham and other British government spokesmen are rarely permitted under Civil Service rules to be quoted by name. At most, they can be referred to as "a government spokesman." More frequently they speak off-the-record, without attribution, leaving it to reporters to print news obtained from them on their own responsibility.

Ingham himself says "I have no objection to going on the record. But I am equally clear that the interests of greater openness and real communication are no less well-served—indeed, perhaps even better served—by unattributable or off-the-record background briefing."

He argues that putting everything on the record would not make government more open.

"Indeed, it would not change anything," he says, "because wherever the media exists, so does background briefing as a sensible means of informing the writer or broadcaster."



# We must narrow the gulf

by James D. Head  
Executive editor  
King Features

NEW YORK—National magazines, think tank spokesmen, futurists of every stripe are convinced that the Information Age is now.

Our vehicle into the new age is the computer, they all seem to be saying, more particularly the personal or home computer that only yesterday was perceived as not much more than a toy for the privileged.

If the computer is our ride into a new world—and few are disputing it—what kind of information will be available to our society? The microchips of silicon can be programmed to brief us on all the great thoughts of man, they can deluge us with statistics, make out budgets and compute taxes, give us cookie recipes and let us make graphic doodles on a fluorescent screen. Whether they can be made to tell us what's going on—is the National Security Council think-

ing in terms of a nuclear first strike, or did the town zoning board majority take a payoff to grant a building variance?—is another matter.

Just who does keep the public informed on issues that might be dangerous to our national health is a matter of record; by any standard of measurement, it is the print medium. Radio has 'never' measured up to any significant lasting test, nor has television, despite its growing presence as newsmaker instead of news gatherer.

Unless knowledgeable news people from the world of print have some way of making an impact on what computers will program and spew out, we are already in that time George Orwell described. And maybe the technology already has gone too far; maybe we can't find a way to make TV more than a sleepless, unquestioning eye that has all happenings neatly categorized. And if information machines can't tell us the meaning of the events of the day, tomorrow will be barren indeed.

Where does this leave newspapers, magazines and books in the new age? One of the high priests of computerdom is quoted: "I go home, turn on my computer and see what's on Dow Jones... I don't know if it's good or bad, but I don't read the paper anymore."

Today's futurist can hardly proclaim another vision before it is passé. The one I remember best, however, would never use the term, and certainly not to describe himself.

He was William L. Laurence. Reporter. New York Times.

He was also one of the most distinguished science writers of his time. In 1946 he spoke at a number of universities describing what he had seen at the Bikini atom bomb blast in the Pacific. Behind that calm, factual narrative was an almost biblical prophet.

Man's social development, he said, has never kept pace with his genius for advancing machines. There is little hope for us, he said, unless we can narrow that gulf.

What would he say now?

## The need is not being met

by Robert E. Hoyer  
Staff writer  
The Stars and Stripes  
European Edition

DARMSTADT, West Germany—The need to know. How basic it is to the enlightenment we all pay lip service to, but so frequently ignore.

In its absence the corrupters of power are tempted to hold the public in contempt. But where legally sanctioned and conscientiously fought for, the need-to-know principle serves as a safety valve against the abuse of power.

Anyone who doubts the importance of this basic tenet must be blind to the grim events in Poland during the last year.

Yet, as America's political leaders lament the plight of their Polish brethren, many conveniently forget their own attempts to conceal embarrassing information from constituents.

The need to know is the bedrock of the American political system. Unfortunately, thousands of complacent Americans fail to realize that it is a need that must be diligently pursued.

For those few Poles who are lucky enough to make that occasional trip to the West, the story is different. For them, discussing the need to know becomes purely an academic exercise.

In Germany, the brutal wartime suppressions of the Nazis seem to be overlooked by a vocal and mostly youthful cult that finds

more menace in America than in the Soviet Union.

Older Germans who recognize tyranny and oppression from their own personal experiences feel more comfortable with the American model of life.

"I learned by accident of the atrocities against the Jews, but I couldn't say a word," a Bavarian businesswoman says.

"Under Hitler we were told only what the government wanted us to know. Now, thankfully things have changed for the better."

There is no doubt that the need-to-know role places an awesome responsibility on both individual journalists and on those who financially support the press.

Rapid technological changes in the communications industry and the meaningful reporting of news of an expanding technological age, complicate the work of reporters and editors everywhere.



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National interests compound the problems of those who are expected to report on such controversial issues as the placement of medium-range nuclear missiles in the Federal Republic. What appears to be the truth for a German journalist, writing for a German audience, may assume a purely national viewpoint to an American.

Beyond such technical and national issues, the press must perform well if it is to discharge its need-to-know obligation in a responsible manner. But with profits counting more than people to some owners, the performance of

the American press at home and abroad falls disappointingly short of its potential.

Most of America's prosperous dailies fail to keep a single correspondent overseas.

In Europe, where 350,000 Americans are assigned to help defend the West, press coverage is sporadic. Not a single reporter is assigned full-time to this vast assemblage of people and machines.

Obviously, this beat is outside the circulation of American dailies. But there is no lack of important and interesting news coming from this source. In November, a **Stars**

and **Stripes** special report recounted the more depressing aspects of barracks life, including the high crime rate and heavy drug and alcohol abuse of barracks residents. Only condensed wire service versions of this series were published in newspapers back home in the U.S.

It is doubtful indeed if the American people know enough about the size, morale and readiness of an overseas military force that is costing them billions of tax dollars. Under the circumstances, it can hardly be an exaggeration to conclude that their need to know is **not** being served.

## A lack of understanding

by Donald Kirk  
Foreign correspondent

TOKYO—The more you report from Japan, the more you realize how little you really know. Want to interview an official in the ministry of International Trade and Industry or the Foreign Ministry or the Finance Ministry about the latest wrinkle in the U.S.-Japanese negotiations on trade? They'll not only gladly agree to appointments but inundate you with facts, figures and quotes. Want to cover a national political campaign? With little difficulty you can interview political aides of all hues and stripes, accompany candidates on hand-shaking and speech-making tours—and otherwise pick up all the background, perceptions, insights and color, not to mention news, that you or anyone else could possibly desire.

Trouble is, very few if any of the stories written from here tell us much about how the "system" operates. The real story—the way the money moves among different factions, among business interests, between politicians and behind-the-scenes *kuromaku* figures, between corporations and parties—remains hidden beneath an excess of public information, statements, press releases, pamphlets, whatever, intended to pro-

mote and obfuscate without enlightening.

How much of the backstage drama of Japan do readers honestly "need to know"? Read the great Japanese national dailies, and you get the impression that someone back there, some secret figure, is conducting a giant orchestra. One newspaper bangs the drums, another toots the horns—and a single unified piece of music blares out over the nation. The hard news, in fact, is often not as distinctive as all that—often the stories in *Yomiuri Shimbun*, the world's largest daily, and second-ranked *Asahi Shimbun* are startlingly similar despite *Yomiuri's* reputation for "sensationalism" and *Asahi's* for reflecting a somewhat "leftist" bias.

One reason often cited by foreigners for the similarity in Japanese press reports is the local "press club" system, under which reporters automatically become members of groups assigned to each ministry, agency or local government entity. Only members of the club can go to press conferences in their particular department, and foreign correspondents are generally excluded. Indeed, correspondents have waged vigorous crusades for the right to attend the same briefings and backrounders to which Japanese

reporters are privy, and have cracked the doors of the Prime Minister's office—fair enough, considering that Japanese journalists have no difficulty gaining entree into White House press conferences. The battle of accredited foreign correspondents for the "right" to cover news on an equal basis with Japanese raises basic questions about the freedom with which reporters from abroad can cover news both here and in other countries.

Regardless of their "rights," however, foreign correspondents actually learn very little from attending Japanese briefings. The statements are usually pro forma, with questions in certain instances submitted and approved in advance. The Japanese "system" is designed as much to formalize the dissemination of news, to exclude the embarrassment of premature disclosure of information, and to present a unified view, as it is to live up to ideals of the public's right to understand what's going on. In fact, Japanese often seem to take a rather jaded view of reports on the comings and goings of politicians and public officials. "It's just a newspaper story," is a standard response to front-page headlines reporting debates in the Diet, controversies among ministries and the like. The story-



behind-the-story remains largely hidden—unless “exposed” in weekly and monthly magazines reputed for purveying as much fiction as fact.

A Japanese publisher in a conversation with me once defended the reluctance of his newspaper to report the inner dealings of businessmen and politicians on the grounds that his readers did not “need to know” that kind of gossip. He didn’t doubt the existence of a

system of massive corruption and influence-peddling, he told me, but he hardly thought it appropriate to try to cover it. How much do we “need to know,” anyway? Beneath a very superficial appearance of openness, Japan remains a closed society—as closed in many ways to Japanese as it is to foreigners. An initial step toward breaking down the barriers, in my view, is an appreciation of our overwhelming lack of understanding of what’s happening here.

## Americans must be vigilant

by Lane Kirkland  
President, AFL-CIO

WASHINGTON—For all of us concerned with the need to know, 1981 was a watershed year. Any one who wondered at all about the importance of this keystone of

democratic life had only to watch the development of the independent trade union, Solidarnosc, in Poland.

The new military overlords in Warsaw struck first at the means of communications when they moved to crush Solidarnosc.



—AF Laserphoto

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland addresses a press conference at Bal Harbour, Florida, during meetings of the labor federation’s executive council in Feb. 1981.

First, the generals cut the lines connecting city to city and regional union to regional union. They particularly had to isolate Lech Walesa, the dynamic union leader, from the Solidarnosc members and general public.

Second, the military had to chop off all communications links between Poland and the western world. Not only did the generals want to hide their crime from their own people, but also from the sympathetic audience in Western Europe and the United States.

This contemporary history offers lessons for all of us, east and west.

Free trade unionists understand this issue as clearly as journalists do. While many outsiders see Solidarnosc only as an organization of Polish workers, in fact the union is the first popularly-supported democratic, mass organization formed in communist Eastern Europe since the end of World War II.

The first goal of Solidarnosc was to open the doors of public information to the entire Polish nation. The union’s historic negotiations with the ruling communists were done publicly. The first request Solidarnosc made to western trade unionists was for a printing press.

One of the union’s primary demands was the freeing of Polish journalists from the suffocating hands of the party censors and ideological watchdogs. Political prisoners were freed and their rights to speak their minds written into a contract endorsed by the country’s highest court.

When Solidarnosc opened this gate of democratic freedom, nearly all other elements in Polish society followed along. These people had never lost their love of freedom, even after 35 years of totalitarian rule.

Artists, writers, musicians, teachers, lawyers and journalists joined the millions of workers who filled the ranks of Solidarnosc. They proved in a short time that the lies and crimes of the communist rulers could not survive the hot sunshine of public knowledge.



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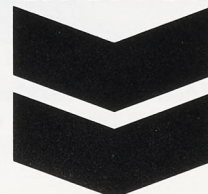
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Of course, the communists and the military, the perpetrators of the ugliest of crimes, could not survive exposure in the light of the people's right to know. Although they are a minority, this clique has the guns and is, therefore, able to crush, at least temporarily, the bold democrats of Poland.

This brief, dramatic object lesson has stirred the conscience of free people everywhere. People who previously took their freedom for granted have seen that freedom is indivisible. When the Polish workers and their leaders had their heads broken and their freedom stolen,

we all lost part of our freedom.

The workers sought three basic rights—to assemble peacefully, to speak and to publish freely—which are wrapped together in the First Amendment of our own Constitution. When we reflect how dangerous the exercise of these rights is to the totalitarian leaders of Poland, we understand how precious they are to us Americans.

This gains further importance when we find a Washington administration chipping away at Americans' right to know by shielding from public view more and more of the decisions taken that affect all

our lives.

The administration wants to reduce the scope of the Freedom of Information Act and has cut off connections between government officials and the press; vital economic information previously published by the Departments of Labor and Commerce and other agencies is now locked in computers and vaults.

At the same time that we weep for our repressed brothers and sisters in Poland, we must be vigilant against the more subtle erosion of rights cherished by all Americans.

## Prospects are not bright

by Albert I. Kraus  
Editor  
The Journal of Commerce

NEW YORK—In Africa, Frank Barton is probably as well known among journalists as Osborn Elliott is in this country. A former RAFer, he stayed on as a newspaper correspondent in Rhodesia after World War II, covering all the big stories from the Cape to Cairo, including the birth of more than 40 African republics. In addition, he founded the journalism school at the University of Nairobi, turning it over to blacks when the school was mature enough to go it alone. More recently, he has been responsible for the training, en masse, of black journalists in Zimbabwe.

A few years ago, at a conference in the Kenyan capital sponsored by the International Press Institute, Frank brought together black business and economics editors from many of the nations of central Africa, more than 30 in all. They came from countries as diverse as Nigeria, with a press as free as any in the developed countries of the West, and Tanzania, where newspapers operate under the tightest of government controls.

Several of us who participated in the meeting, a ten-day effort to

isolate common problems and share possible solutions, feared that the sessions might turn into a typical East-West shouting match, with the journalists from the socialist countries answering in dogmatic programmed response to each offering of the others—a sort of United Nations General Assembly in miniature.

This never happened. Instead, like professionals everywhere, the participants found themselves in remarkable agreement. Their biggest problems, they agreed, were finding the resources—newsprint, staff, finances—to do the job; overcoming their own lack of training and status; and breaking through the barrier of government secrecy, censorship and indifference to get the news.

With regard to the last, whether a country attempted to control the thinking of its citizenry was something that could not be ignored. But even in the most enlightened African lands, the problem was not different in kind; it simply was worse in some countries than others.

By the same token, government officials—and we heard from several—seemed united in their determination to keep information from the public. It was almost a professional badge of honor, the officials priding themselves on



Albert I. Kraus

their ability to keep facts hidden, the journalists on theirs to pry them loose.

Countries like the United States boast of the many avenues of information, the diversity of opinion, open to their citizens. This openness, however, is by no means assured. Indeed, in the computerized, wired-in, interactive age into which we are emerging, the developed countries face no fewer problems than the less-developed. News outlets are drying up. The demise of The Washington Star, Daily News Tonight and The Philadelphia Bulletin are no longer isolated incidents. Before long, any city in the country with more than one daily newspaper will be a rarity.

Cable, you say, will make up in



numbers for the newspapers lost. Possibly, but not without fractionating the voices with which the print press—and the broadcast media too—used to be heard. The mass media, at least as it once was known, may soon be gone forever.

At the same time, despite all reports to the contrary, the power of central governments does not seem to wane. And despite protests the habit of officials—be

they of conservative or liberal persuasion—is to withhold information. The latest Reagan edicts are not unusual. All recent Presidents have sought to keep the public from knowing.

The prospects are not bright. The power to pry seems on the decline, the power to keep the public from finding out on the rise. Only determined news people have any chance of righting the imbalance.

## Self-censorship in America

by Alan Levy  
Foreign correspondent

VIENNA—The need to know is also the right to realize that you don't know everything. Living in Czechoslovakia during Alexander Dubček's doomed Prague Spring of freedom in 1968, I was made acutely aware of this when I participated in a panel on "What's Happening in Czechoslovakia?" that May in Marienbad, as part of an international student film festival. One of my fellow panelists was a professor from the Moscow Film School who told the audience:

"I do not understand why there is so much commotion about what is happening in Czechoslovakia, or why the western press in general is saying that we in Russia are worried about this. Our Pravda has printed the (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's) Action Program in full. It contains nothing any Russian can object to. We have, in fact, for some time enjoyed the same guarantees that the Czechoslovaks are getting now. Our only dismay is that it has taken Czechoslovakia this long to achieve our level of freedom."

So I asked him: "Did the Action Program, as printed in Pravda, mention freedom to travel and the abolition of censorship?"

The professor replied vehemently: "There is nothing about this in the Action Program!"

A roar went up from the Czechs in the crowd. There was a babble

of refutation, and then an unabridged copy of the Action Program was presented to the professor. He had tears in his eyes when I said to the audience as gently as I could:

"I had read a United Press dispatch mentioning that these two passages were omitted in Moscow, but I wanted to find out first-hand. I think we have just seen the most insidious side of censorship—that its victim doesn't even know when he's being victimized."

The Red Army and its allies came that summer—half-a-million strong—to turn the Prague spring into an August winter of repression that still endures. Sixteen months and five days later, on December 26, 1969, Czechoslovakia's foremost stage entertainer, the satiric song-and-dance man Jiri Šlitir, 45, who was also a painter, perished in his Wenceslas

Square art studio in what the police called a "gas accident." UPI, identifying Šlitir as a 1968 "signer of the 2,000 Words Manifesto" urging Dubček to stand firm, called him a probable suicide. In West Germany, where his songs were popular, the press said he'd been "hounded to death" by the secret police for refusing to recant.

In truth, Šlitir died during a tryst with a teen-aged high school girl he'd been seeing in secret for several months. The girl had told a couple of her schoolmates that she was fighting with Šlitir because he wouldn't be seen with her in public. She'd said she would have one more talk with him about it before Christmas; if he still said no, then the whole world would know by New Year's that she was Jirka Šlitir's girl. On the day after Christmas, she put a sedative in his cognac and, when he slept, turned on the gas. Two bodies, not one, were found dead in Šlitir's studio bed. But the mother of the girl worked for a Communist Party periodical, so the controlled press never printed her presence. Though the death of Jiri Šlitir was not political, the suppression of scandal made it so.

Since Šlitir was my closest Czech friend and I was privy to the finding of the bodies, I documented the truth in the closing pages of my first book about Czechoslovakia in 1972. Eight years later, when the book was reissued, the Šlitir denouement had been excised by the American publisher. "Space needs and who cares now?" I was told. Self-censorship and insensitive editing sometimes deny the need to know even more effectively than the censors do.



—The Daily Express, London

"Of course, Mr. Dupcek, we've had to bring a few lady stenographers, one or two secretaries and some tea boys."



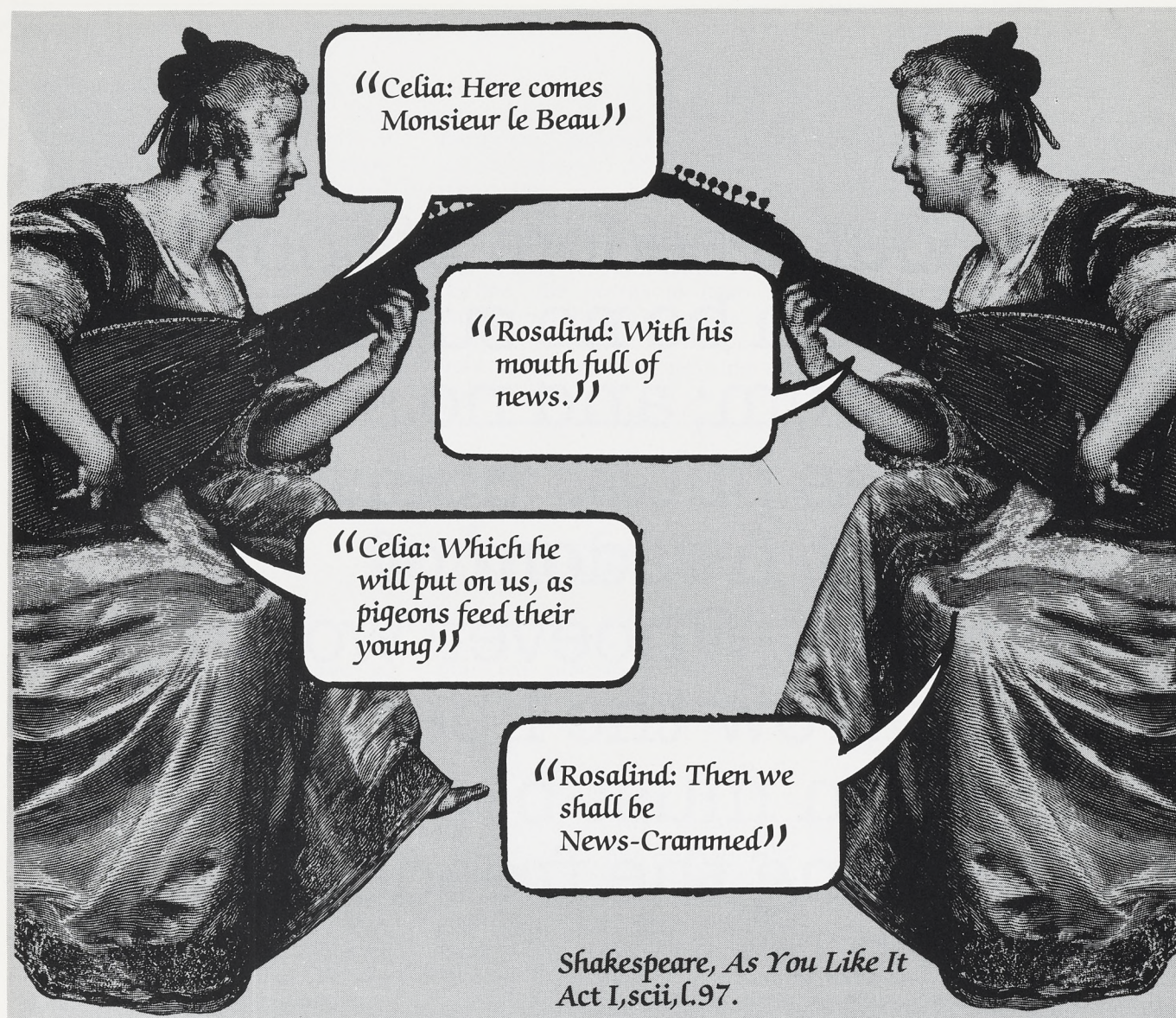
Without freedom of thought,  
there can be no such thing  
as wisdom; and no such  
thing as public liberty  
without freedom of  
speech.... Whoever would  
overthrow the liberty of  
a nation must begin by  
subduing the freedom of  
speech....

Benjamin Franklin

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**The best ideas are the  
ideas that help people. ITT**





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# The U.S. is a model

by Peter Martin  
U.S. business editor  
The Economist  
London

NEW YORK—For a British journalist, working in the United States is in some respects close to paradise. Access to government sources is infinitely greater than in Britain, and there is a general presumption, even among businessmen, the facts are for telling, unless a good reason can be found to hold them back from public debate.

In these circumstances, European journalists are often baffled by the American press's agonised debate about its rights and status. Few British journalists would expect to acquire a privileged status in law: indeed, most would mistrust attempts to give them special privileges, such as the right to withhold information to protect sources.

That doesn't mean European journalists aren't just as concerned about protecting sources as their American colleagues. Indeed, since so much official information is legally secret, they must rely to a much greater extent than in the United States on the courage of their informants. But most European reporters would, I suspect, believe that the onus of protecting their sources falls on the individual journalist concerned, and should not, where criminal proceedings are concerned, be enshrined in protection laws. Nonetheless, European journalists—and British ones in particular—ardently desire changes in the law which would open up the flow of information without granting the press a unique status. A Freedom of Information Act is the most commonly cited need.

Operating in a climate where what is not officially published is officially secret, often forces British journalists into compromises they regret. Since so much information about the inner workings of the British government—under

both major political parties—is secret, journalists are beholden to their sources for much routine information necessary for the daily reporting chore.

This gives ministers and civil servants an undesirable power over a journalist who annoys the powers that be. By shutting him or her off from the stream of staple factual information that is the essential ingredient of "beat" reporting, officials displeased with a journalist can ensure that he or she misses stories leaked to the rest of the press. Few newspaper editors are keen to see themselves consistently beaten by the competition; a correspondent in such circumstances can often become rapidly unpopular with his or her employers.

Of course, such occurrences are rare. More common, though, is the unhealthy dependence on his or her sources that a specialist reporter must struggle to avoid. Officials possess the power to reward those correspondents who least controversially report their view of the world by feeding them stories ahead of the competition. A climate where middle-rank officials are forced into purdah greatly increases the power of senior officials—politicians or bureaucrats—over the correspondents who must struggle to cover their areas one step ahead of the competition.

Since everything is secret, merely acquiring information about government intentions is itself a substantial journalistic feat. In a more open climate, such as that in the United States, reporting what the government does not want reported remains an accomplishment worthy of bonuses and Pulitzer prizes; and there is no less pressure to report run-of-the-mill government decisions ahead of the competition. But since such decisions can be obtained as efficiently through dogged reporting as through access to the most senior officials, correspondents can avoid the trap of overdependence on the favouritism of a few men or women

at the top.

The Reagan administration, like its predecessors, has grown irritated by the persistence of leaks on sensitive political issues. But its attempts to introduce guidelines that would restrict reporters' access to government officials and impose an official straitjacket on the views expressed at lower levels in the system have met with little success.

Part of the reason for this is the realisation that many of the most debilitating leaks—those which portray the administration as divided, unable to make up its mind, or politically fragmented—come from the most senior levels of government, and would not be caught by a purge of lower-level officials who talk to the press.

Another, no less important reason, is the assumption basic to so much of American life that the activities of government are open to public scrutiny. In this respect—that of the right to know—the United States could usefully serve as a model for the rest of the developed world.

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## We all need to know

by Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow  
Director General  
United Nations Educational,  
Scientific and  
Cultural Organization

PARIS—If our daily lives are compared with those of our parents, we are first of all struck by the extraordinary profusion of means made available to us by progress in science and technology—means of production and consumption, means of knowledge and communication, means of learning and teaching.

This transformation has naturally been accompanied by deep-seated changes in attitudes, habits and ways of perceiving various problems. One of the most significant is the gradual broadening of



individual horizons, the increasing sense of belonging to one and the same human community, with each people putting forward its contribution to the common future, where the design of one group is closely interwoven with those of others.

The lightning development of data processing, in particular, and telecommunications has enabled us to receive, store, process, combine and disseminate a mass of data that could not have been dreamt of even a quarter of a century ago. All this enhances our capacity to grasp an issue, make a choice, reach a decision, taking account of an ever greater number of factors, and integrating increasingly complex parameters.

Paradoxically, this very extension of the means at our disposal is responsible for some of the most serious challenges we face. Indeed, the moment these techniques exist and certain people or nations or regions systematically take advantage of them, it becomes vital for all the others to do likewise if they are not to find themselves submerged by such forces, overtaken by history, powerless to influence the course of events to any effect.

Our lifetime has provided tragic experience of the human suffering that ensues when knowledge or



Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow

information is withheld or distorted for particular purposes. Hence the overriding importance of promoting between nations, as well as within each of them, the freest and widest circulation of information of every kind—scientific and technical, political and cultural—in a spirit of intellectual honesty, mutual respect and solidarity that alone can help bring ideas, outlooks and future prospects closer together.

Today, the need to know reflects a twofold requirement—that of satisfying the intellectual, emotional or aesthetic curiosity that prompts each of us to seek out his fellows, wherever they may be, and that of assembling the information, more extensive and composite every day, that is indispensable for us to find our way in the present world, take rational decisions and participate constructively in shaping the future. We are conscious of the need to know at every level of our existence, from the barest survival to the most intricate efforts of research and creativity.

Access by everyone to the universal fund of knowledge is thus an inspiration at once ethical and practical: as a necessity of basic justice and a prerequisite of human fulfilment, it must be considered an essential feature of the democracy of our times.

## Our problem is quality

by George Melloan  
Deputy editor, editorial page  
Wall Street Journal

NEW YORK—The need to know is so fundamental to human survival that it is not hard to imagine its application in life-and-death situations stretching back through all time. "Last to know, first to go" probably was first uttered in grunts by those former residents of the Rift Valley we now refer to as missing links. When the Mongol hordes were sweeping through Kiev eight centuries ago, the cultured prince then in charge probably asked why someone hadn't warned him about people

like that. Ronald Reagan would still like to know who made the decision to call catsup a vegetable.

Those of us who make our living purveying news and opinions never need fear there will be a shortage of demand. Our product is highly saleable. But we always have reason to worry about preserving its quality.

The threat to quality that most often occupies our thoughts is the constant tendency of people who possess valuable information to want to hoard it. Either they want to suppress it or they want to extract a price for it, the price sometimes being a voice in how it will be handled, or how much of it

will be made public.

The United Nations, quite predictably, has lately joined in this effort by trying to set up ground rules for giving governments more control over what is reported internationally out of the countries they rule. The press's response to this sort of thing must always be to keep digging and keep resisting.

In conducting this resistance, it is good to keep in mind that our readers, listeners and viewers, on the whole, are on our side, if we have served them well. And they can be a significant political counterweight to the power of our official sources.

The key words here are "served them well." We all know that we don't always do that. We sometimes let other fancy ideas about



# THREE SURVEYS REVEAL AN EMERGING CONSENSUS ON THE NEED FOR AMERICA TO BE MORE COMPETITIVE IN THE WORLD.

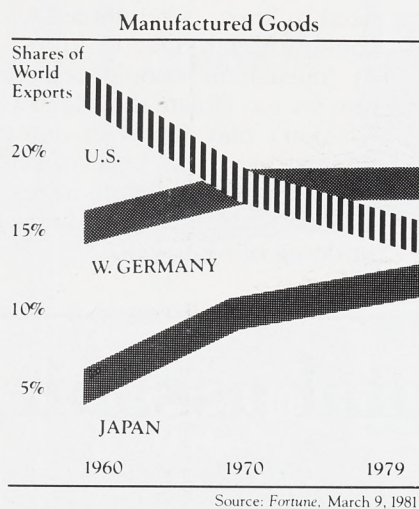
For the past year and a half, Union Carbide has been monitoring American opinion on a wide array of economic issues. In three separate surveys conducted between September 1979 and January 1981, Americans expressed strong concern about the American economy and an awareness that America has to do a better job of competing in the world.

The public's concern over the vitality of the American economy is supported by the facts. The United States ranked last among the major industrial nations in productivity growth in manufacturing in the last decade. Our plant and equipment is older than those of both West Germany and Japan. And we trail most industrial nations in the share of GNP we are investing in new plant and equipment.

While America's share of world export markets has declined, West Germany has become the world's leading exporter of manufactured goods, and Japan has passed the U.S. in the amount of such goods that are exported to less developed countries.

## 1979: ECONOMIC GROWTH IS NECESSARY.

The first indication of a new consensus emerged from our September 1979 survey (*The Vital Consensus*). In that survey we explored the "growth vs. no-growth" issue and found over 80% said that it would be best for the country if the economy grew significantly in the next five years. Almost two-thirds said that the federal government should do more than it is doing to help business grow and create new jobs.



## 1980: BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT MUST COOPERATE AS ALLIES...

In a June 1980 survey (*Adversaries or Allies*), we found that Americans wanted economic growth and also wanted government and business to work more closely together to shape economic policies—as allies instead of adversaries.

Americans, by a margin of 8 to 1, also said that making American business and industry more competitive with foreign business was either important or very important.

## 1981: ...TO MAKE AMERICA MORE COMPETITIVE IN THE WORLD.

In the third poll (*Emerging Consensus*), conducted in January 1981, we found that over 80% think that trade is a two-way street and that 73% favor new U.S. government programs that would encourage American business to export more products. This survey also

found that strong majorities want American businesses treated fairly in international trade and believe that the U.S. should shape its economic policies so that our problems at home and abroad are both taken into account.

America can no longer afford to be the only major industrial country without an integrated economic strategy that takes into account both foreign and domestic realities. The American people understand and endorse the need for such an integrated strategy, as do many of our nation's leaders.

In his economic address before Congress on February 18, President Reagan said, "It is time to create new jobs, to build and rebuild industry, and give the American people room to do what they do best"—in order, as the President later put it "...to make America competitive once again in world markets."

Union Carbide supports the Administration's new economic program as the essential first step in making America more competitive.

For a free copy of the latest survey report—*The Emerging Consensus: Public Attitudes on America's Ability to Compete in the World*—or the two previous surveys, please return the coupon.

	Check
<i>The Emerging Consensus</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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our role get in the way of the simple task of digging out and reporting useful information. We may develop delusions of grandeur about our ability to manipulate real world events. We may become too calculating in an effort to produce the kind of story that could win a prize. We might get too entangled emotionally with our sources. The recitation of well-known journalistic pitfalls could go on and on.

Most of us learned a long time ago that being honest with the buyers of our product is hard work, because it requires something

even more difficult, being honest with ourselves. And if information were easy to obtain and never damaged anyone it would not be so valuable.

In the American system, the need to know is reinforced with a constitutional right to know. We in journalism should remember that we too violate that right when we don't play fair with our customers. Our best hope of retaining the public support necessary to preserving the right to know lies in doing our job well.

## A fundamental assault

by Charles Novitz  
President  
The Society of  
Professional Journalists  
Sigma Delta Chi

CHICAGO—The Society of Professional Journalists/Sigma Delta Chi believes our need to know is not being met by the present administration in Washington. We believe this administration has consistently taken actions to restrict the flow of information about the federal government to the American people. Taken together, we believe these actions represent a fundamental assault on First Amendment rights and the free press they were intended to protect.

Our judgments and concerns are documented in a "Reagan Report Card" on openness in government in 1981. It was compiled by our Freedom of Information committee, led by committee chairman Bob Lewis, Washington correspondent for Newhouse newspapers; our president-elect Steve Dornfeld, Washington correspondent for Knight-Ridder newspapers; and Bruce Sanford, our legal counsel. Officers and board members of the Society approved this report.

Based on the Republican administration's first year in office, the "Reagan Report Card" gives it failing grades on nine out of ten

issues involving openness in government in four broad categories. Only on the issue of world press freedom do we find the administration has performed satisfactorily, and we have called on Mr. Reagan to reexamine the positions taken by his administration on issues involving public access to government information.

The text of the "Reagan Report Card" follows:

### INTERNATIONAL PRESS FREEDOM

- The administration strongly has opposed an effort by UNESCO to regulate journalists around the world and to impose government controls on the flow of news. (Passing grade)

### U.S. PRESS FREEDOM

- The administration has pushed for passage of a bill that, for the first time, would criminalize the publication of information from the public record. The bill would provide harsh penalties for journalists and others who disclosed the names of present and former CIA operatives, regardless of the source of that information or its value to the public. (Failing grade)

### U.S. GOVERNMENT OPENNESS

- Last May, the Justice Department issued new guidelines that, in effect, encouraged all federal agencies to be more restrictive in their release of

information under the 15-year-old Freedom of Information Act, which was designed to make federal agencies more open and accountable. (Failing grade)

- Calling the Act "a highly overrated instrument," the administration unveiled proposals last October that would broaden the opportunities for many federal agencies to withhold information from the public. Many of these proposals were incorporated in a bill approved in December by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution. (Failing grade)
- By mid-year, the CIA had cut back on its public information office and on background briefings for journalists who write about foreign affairs. (Failing grade)
- In September, the Justice Department revoked guidelines that limited the government's use of a vague, judicially-created power to penalize present and former employees who publish government information without obtaining clearance from the affected agency. Under a Supreme Court decision, such penalties can be levied even if no classified information is disclosed. (Failing grade)
- For at least four months, the administration has been hard at work on a new executive order that would make it easier for government agencies to classify information (and thus withhold it from the public) and much harder for them to unclassify it. (Failing grade)

### WHITE HOUSE OPENNESS

- President Reagan held just six press conferences during his first year in office, fewer than any first-year president in at least a half-century. (Failing grade)
- Under the guise of national security, the White House has adopted new policies intended to stem the flow of news leaks. These leaks may have been politically inopportune, but none of them contained any information that was classified. (Failing grade)
- The White House invoked executive privilege last October in





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refusing to release 31 Interior Department documents sought by a House oversight subcommittee. Executive privilege was invoked on the grounds that the documents "constitute material prepared for part of the Executive Branch in the deliberative process," a sweeping claim that could be applied to an unlimited range of government documents. (Failing grade)

## The right response to error

by George F. Palmer  
Editor  
World Business Weekly

NEW YORK—"An educated consumer is our best customer," asserts a New York clothing retailer in its ads on a local radio station. In the marketplace, buyers—and sellers—who don't know what they are doing, can get taken for a ride. Likewise in the political arena. Except that what's at stake there are not only dollars and cents, but freedom and justice as well.

In both political and economic life, the need to know—indeed, the right to know—is fundamental. And in free societies, the vigilance of the press is one of the public's strongest guarantees that its right to know will be respected, and that any attempts to stifle the flow of information will go neither unnoticed nor unchecked.

Access to information is not only a hallmark of free societies, it is a prerequisite for sound decisions, whether they are the decisions of individuals or communities, companies or countries. Unless they are grounded in reality and based on up-to-date information, the judgments of even the wisest statesmen will be suspect; even shrewd businessmen will make bad investments; and the most careful consumer will spend more than he need. Whoever we are, whatever we do, if we are to make intelligent choices and

rational decisions, we need to know how the world has changed since yesterday and to be forewarned of the forces that will be shaping it tomorrow.

As the world we live in becomes more complex, the task of making it comprehensible becomes ever more difficult. Distant events intrude increasingly on domestic life. Yesterday's report of a crop failure in the Soviet Union sends down the price of gold bullion in Zurich...the dollar strengthens in New York...imported automobiles become cheaper...Ford and GM lose market share and unemployment rises...The ripples spread far and wide, affecting men and markets around the globe.

It is the responsibility of a free press not only to report the events that come crowding in, but also to explain what they mean. The man-in-the-street also needs to understand what is happening in his community, in his country, and in the world outside.

But, as in the past, the messages brought by today's winged Mercurys seldom please everybody. There are always those whose private ambitions are served more by concealment than disclosure, and always those whose instinctive response to unwelcome news is to shoot the messenger. So even an independent press in a free society will be under fire. Democratic leaders are just as tempted to manage the news as those who run dictatorships. And those at the head of big corporations would like to shape what the public is to be told no less than those who run for public office.

So the battle is unceasing and victory is never assured. Newspapers and reporters, editors and publishers, will always be under pressure, frequently under attack. Mistakes are, of course, inevitable, and are grist for the critics' mill. The press shares fallibility with every other human institution. But the right response to error is renewed dedication to the highest professional standards. It should never be to concede the critic's arguments for outside control.

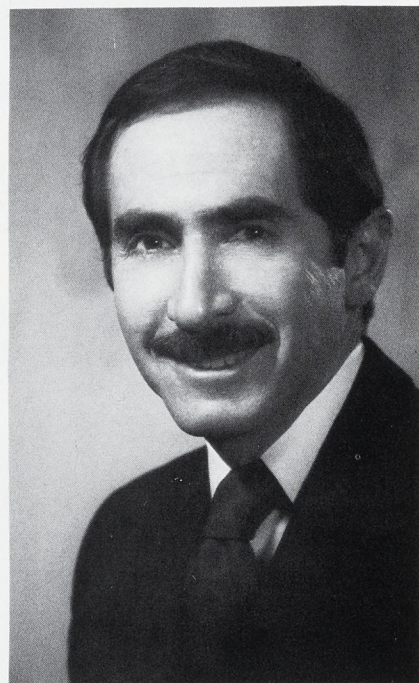
**[World Business Weekly has suspended publication—Editor]**

## Truth does indeed emerge

by Warren H. Phillips  
Publisher  
Wall Street Journal

Excerpted from the Wall Street Journal

NEW YORK—All the talk about the First Amendment rights of the press is not about special privileges for newspaper reporters and publishers, but about the rights of the public—the right to be kept informed, the right of the governed to have a surrogate watching the governors. The First Amendment



Warren H. Phillips

wasn't written for the publishers' benefit but for the public's.

And, when the Founding Fathers provided for a free press, when Thomas Jefferson and before him John Milton argued for press freedom, they certainly never assumed the press would always perform well and act responsibly, would always know the truth and tell the truth. In light of the low-quality press, the propaganda



sheets of their day, they assumed we would have to suffer a goodly share of fools and rogues in the press.

But they believed that through diversity, out of the vast welter of conflicting ideas that would be put before the public, the truth would emerge. And that it would emerge

more effectively than through any efforts to impose standards of truth from the outside or through any other means yet devised. The evidence over 200 years—at the local courthouse level as well as at the broader levels of Vietnam and Watergate—is that the truth does indeed emerge in this fashion.

never do the things that I am doing now.”

In time Juan Carlos became king, ruled the nation masterfully but reluctantly, and encouraged others to share the burdens of Spanish government. Political parties were born and are flourishing. The Communist party was recognized, “legitimized” and exists without rancor. The socialists are thriving. The Right Wing is vocal. The robust young democracy is being fed by one thing alone: a recognition that throughout the complex system of healthy government there is an undeniable need to know.

This acknowledged political vector continues and is reinforced with Spain’s application for membership into the Common Market—this for a nation which was isolated on the far side of the Pyrenees ever since the Moorish Conquest! It moves ahead boldly with linkage into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—this for a former fascist state that now embraces democracy with fervent passion! It carefully examines its expanded cultural tableau to see which historic threads can be stitched together in the vast hispanic world that lies beyond its own frontiers and embraces a potential friendship with three-hundred million ethnic brethren.

This subtle alliance is a daily concern of the farsighted Juan Carlos and, if successful, could prove to be one of the most beneficial political happenings for Latin American development in modern times. Has Juan Carlos discovered a corridor that will lead toward more harmony in the Western Hemisphere? It is still very early to say, but the application of imagination in an open society illustrates once again that new destinies flourish in an atmosphere of freedom. And coming from a young nation such as modern Spain, which only a few short years ago was under a complete news blackout, the example provides greater impact among those countries which are still seeking their way out of the gloom.

For sensitive political scientists it will be fascinating to follow the route of the new Spanish Main.

## A new Spanish Main

by Joseph A. Raff  
President  
Fielding Publications

MALLORCA, Spain—Within the brotherhood of modern nations, there is hardly a better example than Spain of what results when the “need to know” is answered. The recent—and continuing—Spanish Revolution is not the “miracle” pundits would like to promote as an easy label in political science. It was and remains a carefully calculated process of evolution that began in the supposed Dark Age of Francisco Franco. Yet it was Franco himself who realized that the need to know could not be and would not be stifled forever. He became the willing gravedigger for the **corpus** of his own body politic.

The harsh but wise Caudillo (how distant that title sounds

today) could see in his failing years that the system—his system of controlled information—was also gradually failing. If he did not take measures to encourage peaceful change, then violence surely would result. Doubters and cynics may carp, but there is ample evidence that he was exceptionally sensitive to the newer tendencies in Iberia.

There is an anecdote—widely believed to be true—that during the time when young Juan Carlos, now the king, was under his tutelage, he complained to the aging Franco that “The Leader” would not allow him to watch as the old man maneuvered and practiced his statecraft. Franco confessed to the young prince that his pupil was quite right.

“But when the time comes that you are leading this country, young man,” intoned Franco, “you will



—UPI photo

King Juan Carlos of Spain (left) with Dictator Francisco Franco at the Presidential palace in Madrid. In 1969, Franco designated the young prince as his successor in the event of his death or incapacitation; he was still Prince Juan Carlos when this picture was taken in 1973.



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# The joke may be on us

by Harry Rasky  
Author and filmmaker

TORONTO—A few years ago I produced a film, with the great actor Christopher Plummer playing the part of the Canadian sage and humorist Stephen Leacock. Of the many things Leacock wrote in the Mark Twain tradition, a couple of truths stick out in memory:

"I've always found that the only kind of statement worth making is an overstatement",

and

"A half truth, like a half brick, is always more forcible as an argument than a whole one. It carries further."

The truth, after all, is something that often changes in the telling. It has been the plaything of many a writer. George Bernard Shaw, who always seemed to find a way of saying things best, remarked: "My way of joking is to tell the truth. It's the funniest joke in the world."

In our need to know, I can't help feeling the joke may be on us. Toronto is the most cabled city in North America. We are fed more television here than any place in North America. The three U.S. networks pump across the border, and the CBC has its own service as do at least two other Canadian networks. The news hits us like last

winter's weather—too much.

We have to dig ourselves out. If you switch from station to station quickly you will find the only variation most often is the commercial message. Somewhere, I often feel, there must be "the other" point of view.

Of course we need to know: Canada is the geographical buffer between the two great powers. Its armed services have been downgraded into oblivion. Its territory is the missile highway of the future. As the U.S. stands or falls, so go we. But I fear we know too much of too little.

A couple of events in my own journalistic past keep haunting me. I can recall filming in Ethiopia during the Cuban missile crisis of the early Sixties. In that mountain empire, there was no wired connection with the outside world. The world teetered on the brink and swayed back. We never knew about it until it was over. That was a satisfying experience—the peaceful silence of the ignorant.

Then there was the time in Cuba while on a wild adventure filming Fidel Castro. He coolly announced to our film crew that he was turning off the water, or threatening to do so, at Guantanamo Bay. We had the news but the people of the U.S. did not, for

a day or so. They slept. We didn't.

Then there was Vietnam, the living room war. The film I produced for ABC carried a narration that little reflected my own anti-war attitude, because at that time anti-Vietnam war commentaries were not yet in fashion. If only more journalists had spoken out earlier, how many lives could have been saved? The truth is not like fashion...a shorter truth for summer, a heavier truth for winter. But how many practicing newsmen will go against the truth of the moment? So, as Mr. Leacock reminds us, half a truth does carry further, and possibly will get the ratings.

I seem to be concentrating here on the facts as presented on TV, because that is how most people get their news. It's been a long time since a city like New York could support a dozen or even half a dozen daily papers, and most cities are down to one paper, one opinion. I suppose really what I am advocating is less self-censorship, more daring, more willingness to be different, and therefore more freedom of opinion.

As long as we hold back, there will be less information, and thus doubt. And as Moiliere aptly observed, "doubts are more cruel than the worst of truths."

Governments and the people would be less confused and less apt to do as Leacock said, "and be like a horseman riding off in all directions."

## An interview with Premier Spadolini

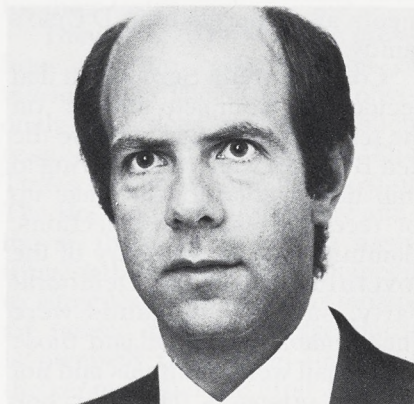
by Dennis Redmont  
Chief of Bureau  
Associated Press

ROME—Since the wave of terrorist activity that engulfed Italy in the 1970's, debate on freedom of the press vs. the right to know has revolved around the question of how news media should deal with terrorist activities and whether they should publish terrorist propaganda.

Terrorists have relied heavily on newspaper and television pub-

licity. Gangs from both left and right usually call Italian newspapers (and recently, one American) to claim attacks or killings and to report where they have left messages for the authorities.

Journalists have been forced to take a position on whether or not to use propaganda material. The government has applied heavy pressure not to publish terrorist "communiques." But press and public opinion have split, especially when terrorists threaten death to hostages if the press does



Dennis Redmont







professional duty to seek out the news...but like every freedom even freedom of information has limits represented by the respect for laws, such as against divulging military secrets or supporting crimes." Spadolini expresses similar views. "There have to be certain spheres of secrecy established to protect undisputable interests," he said. "But any limit on the right to know can only be fixed by law," he says. "Beyond those limits, every activity of inquiry could be considered a hypothetical crime, and journalists searching for the truth have to be guided by their conscience." But he stresses again that months of tenacious work by investigating authorities could be compromised by one minute's indiscretion by a journalist.

Drafting special anti-terrorist legislation, the Italian government has proposed jail terms of four to 12 years for publishing or broadcasting documents which incited or apologized for terrorist crimes. National Press Federation Vice-Secretary Sergio Bosi claims the law would limit the freedom of the press. And criminal lawyer Alberto Dall'Orta says existing laws can be invoked to punish such "crimes." "Adding another law is dangerous, it would mean we would ourselves be asking for a restriction of freedom and that would be a great success for terrorism." Others claim it would lead to self-censorship by journalists.

One of the difficulties which journalists throughout the world often encounter is the lack of official spokesmen in a position to provide accurate information. Premier Spadolini maintains there is a total willingness in Italy on the part of the investigating magistrates and police to deal with the press, and that this was demonstrated during the recent Dozier kidnapping and investigation. The struggle against terrorism in the past few years "has shown how important and sometimes decisive it is to establish a relation of positive collaboration between the enquiring authorities and the world of information," he says.

"It's a principle to which we will remain faithful in the future as we have been in the past, con-

scious that the profound technical transformation continually brings new demands on the world of information which governments and political forces will have to face without delay," the Premier adds.

However, Italy's highest court curtailed journalists' rights last year when it ruled they must reveal the sources of their stories if asked to do so by a judge. The court recognized the "common interest" in a "real and proper freedom of the press," but said "this interest, protected by the Constitution, is not in the abstract, superior to the fundamental rights of justice." However, the court suggested that Parliament might pass a law giving journalists the right to "professional secrets"—a power

the court does not have.

Limits to the rights to know were further brought into question in Italy last year when *L'Espresso* published a map of nuclear bases in Italy. The editors said information about the bases was classified, therefore they made their own map by sending reporters to the locations instead of asking military authorities for the information. Premier Spadolini says that only Italy's courts can determine whether such press reports constitute a violation of laws governing military secrets—and if they do, the courts must apply appropriate sanctions as in this case, where the reporters who wrote the story received suspended sentences.

## An important new threat

**Editor's note: the following article is excerpted from an address delivered by Mr. Rosenthal at Colby College, Waterville, Maine, November 9, 1981.**

by A. M. Rosenthal  
Executive editor  
The New York Times

NEW YORK—There is one subject that takes up a considerable amount of my time and thoughts—whether reporters should burn their notes, whether they are going to go to jail, what are the possibilities of a sudden police search, whether people who once talked to us will talk any more, whether other papers can be fined out of existence, whether the police will secretly commandeer our phone records to find our sources of information, whether we will be allowed to cover the administration of justice, how to get the police to reveal necessary information.

I do not imply that we have gone totalitarian or that the Republic will fall. But I do tell you that the **process** essential to a free press, one of the institutions that will

help guarantee that we do **not** go totalitarian, that the Republic will **not** fall, is under attack. And not from our enemies or the enemies of freedom: that, we could handle. No, it is under attack from some of the very people whose professions have helped create and strengthen a free press, some of the lawyers and judges of our country, honorable men and women who have traditionally been the philosophic allies of the free press. And it is under attack from Federal legislators and politicians who certainly do not see themselves as enemies of a free press. They just think the American press is a little too free for their tastes.

They want to prevent the press from printing certain kinds of information. They say that obviously this does not affect such respected newspapers as *The Times* or *The Washington Post* or *The Boston Globe*. All they're aiming at, they say, is certain nasty fringe publications. Now I happen to agree that some of their targets are indeed nasty and fringe, but it is precisely the fringes—not just the center—that the First Amendment was designed to protect.



Simply see what has happened in the past few years. A dozen or so reporters and editors have been sent to jail for no other crime than trying to protect their sources. Others are now under orders to reveal sources or face jail. The courts have permitted newsrooms to be searched. Thousands of memorandums and files have been subpoenaed in different actions around the country. One large newspaper—our own—has been fined hundreds of thousands of dollars. Now every small newspaper lives under the threat of being fined into bankruptcy at the decision of a judge. Laws erected by state governments to protect the reporter's right to work freely have been destroyed by some courts.

Many judges have decided that reporters can be barred from essential parts of the court process, pretrial hearings, which constitute so important a part of the administration of justice. Other courts have placed severe restraints on participants in the judicial process, preventing press and public from finding out what is going on. A wall of judicial protection has been built around information held by the police, behind which they can operate in relative secrecy.

In more and more cases, courts have upheld the principle of prior restraint, preventing the press from publishing what it feels **should** be published. Until a few years ago this was unthinkable.

And in case after case, by demanding notes and files and sending reporters to jail for not revealing sources, courts in effect have ruled that they have the power to enforce publication of information that reporters and editors feel should not be published because it is either confidential or simply inaccurate, untrustworthy, or damaging to innocent people—just raw material.

In totality, courts have now ruled themselves overseers of essential decision-making processes of the free press that the First Amendment was designed to safeguard from government encroachment—what to publish, when to publish, how to operate, what to think.

I do not think there is a plot

## American's Help Called Key To Libyans' Move Into Chad

*The following article is based on reporting by Philip Taubman, Jeff Gerth and Edward T. Pound, and was written by Mr. Taubman.*

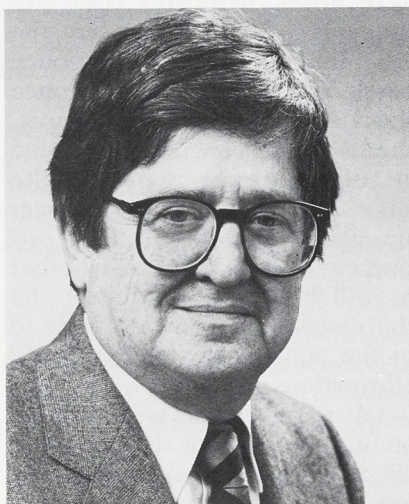
*Special to The New York Times*

**WASHINGTON, Oct. 31** — Libya would have had difficulty sustaining its intervention in Chad last year without the support of a former American intelligence agent, according to pilots and technicians who recently returned from Libya.

well, a former Army pilot who returned Oct. 8 from Libya, where he worked for Mr. Wilson. Mr. Bedwell would not elaborate on his experiences in Libya, but other Americans and Britons agreed with his judgment that the consid-

against the press on the part of the courts. I **do** think that there is a resentment against the press that comes from many things. I do feel that most of that resentment comes from the virtues rather than the failures of the press: the unpleasant virtues of telling the people the truth about Vietnam, Watergate, corruption in government or in business—the aggressiveness and cantankerousness that are, part of our makeup and function.

Right now a new, quite important threat confronts the press—and it will be fought out in the courts. Congress is considering legislation that would make it a crime for newspapers to print the names of United States intelligence agents, past or present, if the newspapers had reason to believe that such printing would affect United States intelligence operations.



Now that bill is not aimed against The New York Times or The Washington Post or The Boston Globe. It is supposed to be aimed against the nasty fringes. There are a couple of publications, which indeed I consider reprehensible, that makes a practice of identifying United States intelligence agents. Usually those names are no secret at all to foreign intelligence groups, but the publicity could indeed cause trouble.

This bill strikes virtually every First Amendment lawyer as clearly unconstitutional because it would amount to forbidding certain types of information, even if public, from being printed in the press.

It is not simply a theoretical matter. The fact is, if that legislation had existed, it might have been impossible to print a large part of the Watergate story because some of the people who participated in it were indeed former CIA agents and even had connections with the CIA at the time.

It would have been impossible for The New York Times, for example, to conduct its investigation of the transfer of secret communications material and weapons to the Libyans, because the people at the heart of this odious operation, so damaging to the interests and honor of the United States, are former CIA agents, and there is every reason to suspect that people now in the CIA had knowledge of the whole sickening betrayal of American interests.

Two Times reporters devoted their full time for months, traveling



all around the world, tracking down this network of agents and former agents engaged in selling American interests to the Libyans. The sad but important truth—that the intelligence “old school tie” seems to have been the connecting link in this operation to strengthen a dictator called a madman by our own leaders, and to strengthen him at the expense of the United States—would have been kept from the American people.

The press is not asking for privilege. That word implies some special gift to be bestowed upon the press or withheld from the press at somebody’s discretion—a judge’s or a legislator’s or a policeman’s. No, we are not talking about the privilege of the press, but the right and ability and duty of the press to function in any meaningful sense.

Yes, this all concerns editors, reporters and publishers; but it also concerns each of you as a citizen of a country based on freedom of thought and expression.

Every American has to ask himself or herself some questions:

Do you **want** a society in which newspapers have to operate under the fear of being fined to death? Do you **want** a society in which newspaper offices can be searched without advance hearings? Do you **want** a society in which the public does not know what is taking place in vital parts of the court processes?

Do you **want** a society in which the police process is made virtually secret?

Do you want a society that is the **totality** of all these things?

If your answer is “No, I don’t want that kind of society,” then fight like hell every inch of the way.

# UNESCO and the news

by Marvin L. Stone  
Editor  
U.S. News & World Report

WASHINGTON—Almost from childhood, we Americans take it for granted that we have a right to know how and by whom the rules are made by which we live. As we grow older, we find it difficult to understand why this is not universally so. Eventually we realize that in this world we are in a minority, for whether behind the Iron Curtain or elsewhere, a majority of rulers find it easier to stay in power by clamping down on the free flow of information through rigid controls on what is printed and broadcast or taught in schools.

The pattern is all too familiar. Almost immediately after seizing power, a regime takes over the main outlets of communication and shuts down all independent media, thus cutting citizens off from the diverse strands of information that would provide a basis for informed decision-making. Citizens denied such access are not truly free, for they are in no position to decide how they want to be governed—and by whom. In fact, only about 25 percent of all countries permit a free press.

To go a step further, in an effort to deny access or, at a minimum, to control the information and ideas disseminated about their country beyond their borders, many governments are working to bring to fruition UNESCO’s so-called New World Information Order. In the guise of seeking “a free flow and wider dissemination of ideas,” a number of Third World and Communist nations want to be in a position to dictate what is reported about them.

Under their plan, UNESCO would license reporters and their

## A need to understand

by Richard B. Stolley  
Managing editor  
People Magazine

NEW YORK—In the kind of personality journalism that People Magazine practices, the “need to know” must obviously be carefully balanced against the right of privacy. Our responsibility to the truth is clear—in our case, to be accurate about that most fragile of merchandise, the facts about another human being. But truth is sometimes an inadequate guide. Given the kind of information that our reporters collect, often with the willing complicity of the story subjects themselves, we have a further responsibility to be careful and tasteful and even kind.

Nonetheless, there is a “need to know” in our area of journalism: the need to understand the lives of other people today, as new kinds of family structures, new modes of child-rearing, new relationships with authority and new role models arise to take the place of those long gone. In my view, the reporting of intimate facts, which is at

the heart of personality journalism, can make an important contribution to our understanding and judgment of our leaders in politics, the arts, entertainment and business. I do not think anyone can sensibly argue today against the premise that citizens have the right—indeed the need—to know something about leaders’ private lives, in order to understand and evaluate their public character.

People Magazine is not in the business of making the world safe for democracy. A better society is not really our mandate. I’m not sure it should be any publication’s mandate. But a better informed society certainly is. The better information a society has, the more intelligent and humane its choices ought to be. People tries to keep society better informed about the men and women who shape our experience—politically, financially, theologically. The “need to know” which characterizes a free society is strengthened by who we know, and what we know about them.



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## **Johannes Steel on Wall Street Nevada reads Johannes Steel in The Las Vegas Sun**

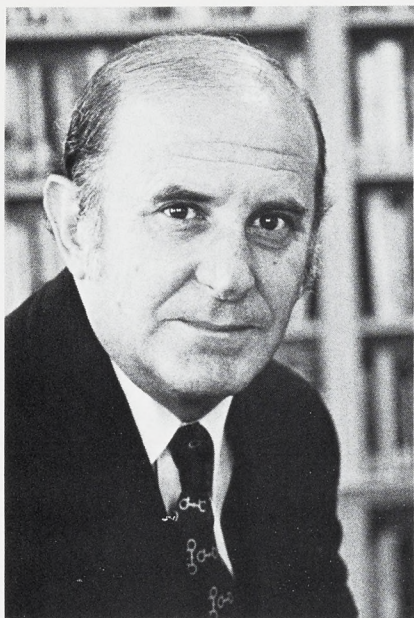
where his column on finance and politics has  
now appeared five times weekly for over ten years.

During that period he has called almost  
every turn of the market. The Las Vegas Sun  
is Nevada's largest independent daily newspaper.

The Editor is H. M. Greenspun. The Las Vegas  
Sun has acquired many loyal subscribers in  
numerous states, in addition to Nevada as the  
result of carrying the Johannes Steel column.

Both, Editor "Hank" Greenspun and Johannes  
Steel are long time members of the Overseas  
Press Club





Marvin L. Stone

employers, give journalists physical "protection" if they fulfilled government "objectives," and maintain government policing of reports. Such a process boils down

to this: report the way the government wants—or else.

Governments already exercise substantial control over foreign correspondents. They can deny visas and limit a journalist's ability to travel and talk to people. Those are obstacles enough. Now UNESCO is talking about establishing a system that would, for all practical purposes, formalize a system of censorship.

If governments do not like what is reported about them and want to set up their own news agencies to provide an alternative outlet, that is their prerogative. But it is reprehensible for them to try to control what others write and broadcast.

It is bad enough that many nations are hostile to the need of their own citizens to know. For them to try to control the information flowing to citizens outside their borders is a further outrage that all of us concerned about freedom of information and ideas are determined vigorously to resist.

Granted, this makes for low-key, often boring evening viewing.

Due to the importance played in Danish society by a free press, journalists here have been allotted elite status and income. In a country lacking commercial television, t.v. newscasters must suffice as boob tube celebrities,



Sten Torben Stovall

recognized and ogled wherever they go, interviewed in weekly gossip columns, and often drafted into service by their political parties. The average income for a journalist here is about \$26,000 a year.

In Denmark, a homogenous archipelago of around five million denizens, legal responsibilities under the press law for signed articles rest with the author, for other material with the editor. Chief limitations are intended to protect the honour and reputations of the individual, and nearly every press case since 1945 has turned on this issue.

## The need is insatiable

by Sten Torben Stovall  
Reuters News Service  
Copenhagen, Denmark

COPENHAGEN—"The need to know" is insatiable here in Denmark. The country's omnipresent "cradle-to-grave" welfare state, cluttered political scene (nine parties now sit in Parliament), and membership in international communities such as the Common Market, European Monetary System (EMS) and Nato make steady and sophisticated information flows essential. Little wonder, then, that Danes read more books and newspapers than their partners inside the European Common Market.

Denmark, a Lilliputian kingdom on the Baltic Sea, enjoys a long tradition of liberal and unbridled press freedom. The importance of information here is reflected in the adage: "Danes are a people administrated, not governed

or ruled." Only through a free press could a paternalistic and egalitarian welfare state such as Denmark function, journalists here say.

They would add that the lack of commercial television here has produced a very informed general public, since state-owned television is not dependent on "sensation" or calculated returns.



The Danish House of Parliament in Copenhagen.



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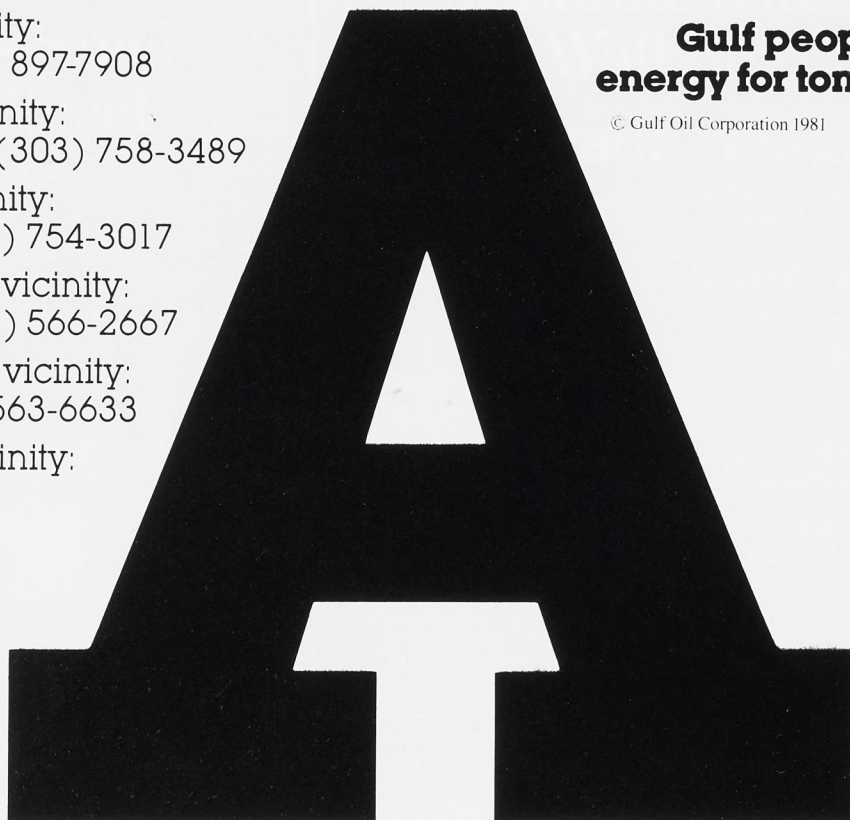
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# Japan needs to be known

by Zenko Suzuki  
Prime Minister of Japan

TOKYO—The prosperous and active world we know today has been created through the wisdom and efforts of each and every person living in our free societies, and this same wisdom and energy can be the driving force in creating a bright future. Needless to say, a government stands on the sacred trust of its people, and hence that government should reflect its people's opinions in forming policies. Thus, each government of every nation in the free world makes constant efforts to help its people know about its policies and to gain their understanding and support. However, people in the free world are informed about the everyday activities of government mainly through the free and fair press. The free and fair press is thus a crucial link bringing people and government closely together. Therefore, it is the government's responsibility to help the press help the public know.

As nations have become increasingly interdependent, incidents abroad can effect governments and peoples at home, either directly or indirectly. Although true of all countries, this is especially true in the case of Japan, which is highly dependent on overseas sources of natural resources, energy, foodstuffs, and other needs. Today, the press devotes much more space to the coverage of foreign news than ever before. Just as people overseas are getting more information on Japan, so are we in Japan basically informed on what is happening in every corner of the world.

This flood of information from the press, however, does not necessarily mean that the people are more knowledgeable about foreign countries. People overseas seem to have a fairly large amount of information on Japan. There are articles or reports on Japan almost

everyday in the major newspapers. Unfortunately, though, there are not too many foreign people who really know Japan. Among those well-informed on Japan, some are "Japanophobics" who trumpet the myth of "Japan Inc." and some others are "Japanophiles" who put undue emphasis on the uniqueness of traditional Japanese culture. There is only a relatively small number of people who have a deep, objective, and reasonably general understanding or knowledge of Japan. No nation is so simple as to

way, and only the uniqueness of our culture was introduced abroad. One European scholar has suggested that, because of this teacher-learner relationship, the Japanese have been able to form more timely and accurate images of Europe than the Europeans have of Japan. So has it been with Japan's relations to the United States as well.

However, now that Japan has grown to be an "economic power" with 10 percent of the world GNP, I believe it is time for both Japan and the western countries to adjust their own self-perceptions and to make the information flow a two-way street. Of course, the government of Japan and the Japanese people are trying their best to help people overseas know Japan better and to deepen mutual understanding, and there are a number



—New York Times photo

**Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki of Japan (left) and Mrs. Suzuki on a visit to New York City in May 1981.**

be describable as a single organization or explainable only by one cultural aspect.

It has not been easy for Japan to try to learn about and come to know foreign countries. Since the Meiji Restoration of the 1860s, the Japanese people have made great efforts to learn from the countries of Europe and the United States, especially from the latter after World War II. For many years, the flow of information has been one-

of things that we can still do to expand the flow of information about Japan. Nevertheless, I would like to note that it is the press which can most effectively convey up-to-date information on and a vivid picture of Japan today. Domestically, your public has a need to know, and, internationally, Japan has a need to be known. I believe both needs can be met with the cooperation of the free and fair press.



# Closed worlds blow up

by William F. Thomas  
Editor  
Los Angeles Times

LOS ANGELES—The public's "need to know" has become such an unquestioned article of faith in the American—and a very few other—societies that it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to discuss it in less than obvious terms.

Its premise, simply, is that a people is best served by a fully-informed populace. This, not without reason, is a premise rejected in societies whose members are not consulted on the decisions which shape their lives.

What need have they of more complete information, when there is little they can do with it anyway? Might cause malaise, in fact, and interfere with the orderly progress of government.

It's hard to argue with that. An autocracy cannot survive a free flow of information, and the demands and pressures that come



William F. Thomas

from a people who insist on acting upon it. Hell, we have trouble existing with it ourselves, for it causes no end of contentious debate.

But of course, this is the nub of our argument—that debate stemming from a reasonably free flow of information is preferable to an apparent placidity masking the rumor, cynicism and rebelliousness endemic to a closed society.

The record of history seems clear on this point. Even though a great deal of the world insists upon moving in other directions, their efforts have yet to produce what could be called a successful society, with all that phrase implies.

It is fair to point out that the degree of access to information varies widely even in the free world, and that the emerging countries must deal with factors we do not face. But a commitment to the goal is possible, even there.

Under the most clinical appraisal, for whatever reasons, it appears indisputable that stability in a society, over the long haul, is best served by such a commitment. For, inevitably, closed worlds some day blow up.

## A western journalistic cliché

by Clark Todd  
Senior correspondent  
CTV Television Network, Ltd.

LONDON—The phrase "need to know" is a Western journalistic cliché. The public, the argument goes, has both a need, and perhaps even a right, to know. The thunder of applause this sentiment usually evokes may drown out the alarm bells.

The "need to know" concept is ill-defined. As journalists, we often judge that need badly, and we lead many easily influenced people, particularly politicians, into accepting our judgment without question. When they wake up they begin worrying about leaks and misquotes.

I support the contention that the public has a right—not just a

need—to know what politicians and government agencies are doing on behalf of the people paying the bills. But I also accept the genuine concern that some journalistic activity, travelling under the "need to know" umbrella, is irresponsible.

It is critical that politicians, government agencies and private institutions involved with the public should be held accountable in public. The public has the right to know how decisions are made which affect them individually and collectively, and what the alternatives may be. This is called accountability, and journalism is fundamental in enforcing it.

But as journalists we must be cognizant of what has been described as "the presumed prejudice." That is, in effect, telling

people what we believe they want to hear. It is difficult for the individual correspondent to go against what he believes is the prevailing attitude. Fred Kennedy of NBC in London described it as the "Emperor's New Clothes Syndrome."

When one watches the network news programs on any given night and notes the similarities, not only in content but in attitude, there is reason for concern. Despite what some media critics would suggest, no doubt based on what they see, there is no mastermind manipulating the networks. Rather, they are manipulating themselves, trapped by the "presumed prejudice."

There is a second problem, and one which would be almost humorous were it not so serious. For some reason, journalists seem





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anxious to present politicians as individuals given the gift of prophecy on being elected to office. All the more remarkable is that the politicians seem willing to play the game, and therefore never say "I don't know," about even the most obscure future possibility. The result is that some of our politicians are vaporized in the

media heat—supermen and women taking the nation to greater heights one day, and failures the next.

Even if we, as journalists, say it is the politicians' own fault for complying, we must not discount the damage we do to our own credibility when opinions are sometimes presented as fact and

given greater credibility than they deserve. The public is then confused when the supposed fact turns out to have been simply media baloney. To raise public expectations rashly may make good television, but it is a corruption of the concept of the public's need to know and a disservice to journalism.

## They need more than headlines

by R. E. "Ted" Turner  
President  
Turner Broadcasting System, Inc.

ATLANTA—"The need to know" has been a primary motivating factor in the growth and direction of the Turner Broadcasting System, Inc. With an ever-increasing number of people naming television as their number one source of news, TBS felt it was essential to provide an alternative to the three major networks' presentation of "news for ratings."

On June 1, 1980, Turner Broadcasting revolutionized the news industry with the debut of television's first live, 24-hour-a-day all-news network—the Cable News Network. Since CNN signed on the air at 6:00 PM that day, it has provided nonstop coverage of events as they happen around the globe.

When the Founding Fathers wrote the U.S. Constitution, they could not have imagined the technological advances which have been realized in the past 200 years. They could not have foreseen the evolution of news dissemination when they made "freedom of speech" and "freedom of the press" the law of the land.

The Founding Fathers would be pleased to see these freedoms still perceived as fundamental to the preservation of our society. However, they would not be so happy to see so many of our citizens dependent on network newscasts that have ratings as their number one priority. Cable News Network has no arbitrary time



—UPI Photo

R. E. "Ted" Turner on his yacht "Courageous" at Newport, Rhode Island. Mr. Turner is founder and president of the Turner Broadcasting System which operates television's first live, 24-hour all-news network, Cable News.



limits for its coverage and no ratings race with which to concern itself. CNN's only consideration is to provide the news completely, accurately and as quickly as possible, and to stay with stories to insure that all angles are presented comprehensively and in depth.

"The need to know" implies more than just cursory treatment of the news. In order for citizens to make intelligent decisions on the conduct of their government and their own affairs, they need more than just the headlines. A free society is dependent upon the free exchange of ideas and the unimpeded dissemination of the news. In its effort to serve a more informed citizenry, CNN has blazed new trails in television journalism, providing comprehensive and unbiased coverage. News commentary is clearly labeled as such.

There are times that people have only a few minutes to catch up on the day's events. That is why TBS created CNN2, which made its debut on December 31, 1981. CNN2 also is a live, 24-hour-a-day television news service. It provides a continuously updated 30-minute cycle of news for the viewer who wants only a brief summary of the latest happenings. TBS, however, encourages cable operators not to opt for CNN2 instead of CNN. Cable News Network continues to be the primary news source and it should be made available to all cable television households. A CNN2 format has its place on the television dial, but it should supplement and not take the place of an in-depth news source.

The TBS commitment to "the need to know" also is reflected in expansion of the TBS International Documentary Unit, which was begun last year to explore Third World problems and the solutions to those problems. The Unit's first effort, aired on Super-Station WTBS, was a one-hour documentary exploring the problems of over-population in Asia and Africa. This program was chosen to receive the Population Action Council's Media excellence award for best domestic programming for 1981.

Using modern state-of-the-art technology, Turner Broadcasting will continue its efforts to bring about better understanding between peoples of the world. We have taken a giant step in this direction with MOSCOW LIVE, television's first live, two-way interview program between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Airing monthly on CNN, the one-hour program brings Soviet and American officials face-to-face to discuss issues of mutual interest. Now we are planning NATION TO NATION, which will be an attempt to bring together officials of countries with opposing views to discuss

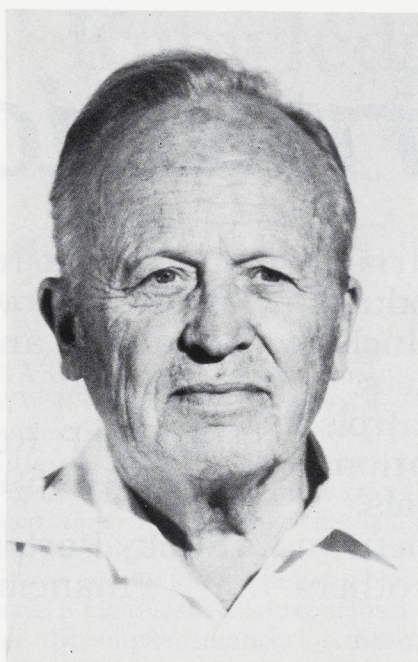
their positions face-to-face via satellite live on our air. In this way, we hope that CNN not only will cover the news, but will provide a global platform that can promote discussion leading to peaceful resolution of problems between nations.

The importance of "the need to know" cannot be overemphasized. It is essential to the very fabric of our nation. We at Turner Broadcasting are committed to keeping Americans informed about the issues which affect their lives, and hope that one day we can help bring the free flow of information to peoples all over the world.

## Who needs to know?

by George Weller  
Foreign correspondent

ROME—"The devil is in the detail," the English say. To make us more godly, our quiet colleague sends us his gift-wrapped grenade; what happens if it goes off, he does not care. He is saving us from the tyranny of detail. These questions of his, these annual grenades, are loaded with the powders of Emily Dickinson:



George Weller

intrusion, which enters the mind, and then the monster bang of intuition.

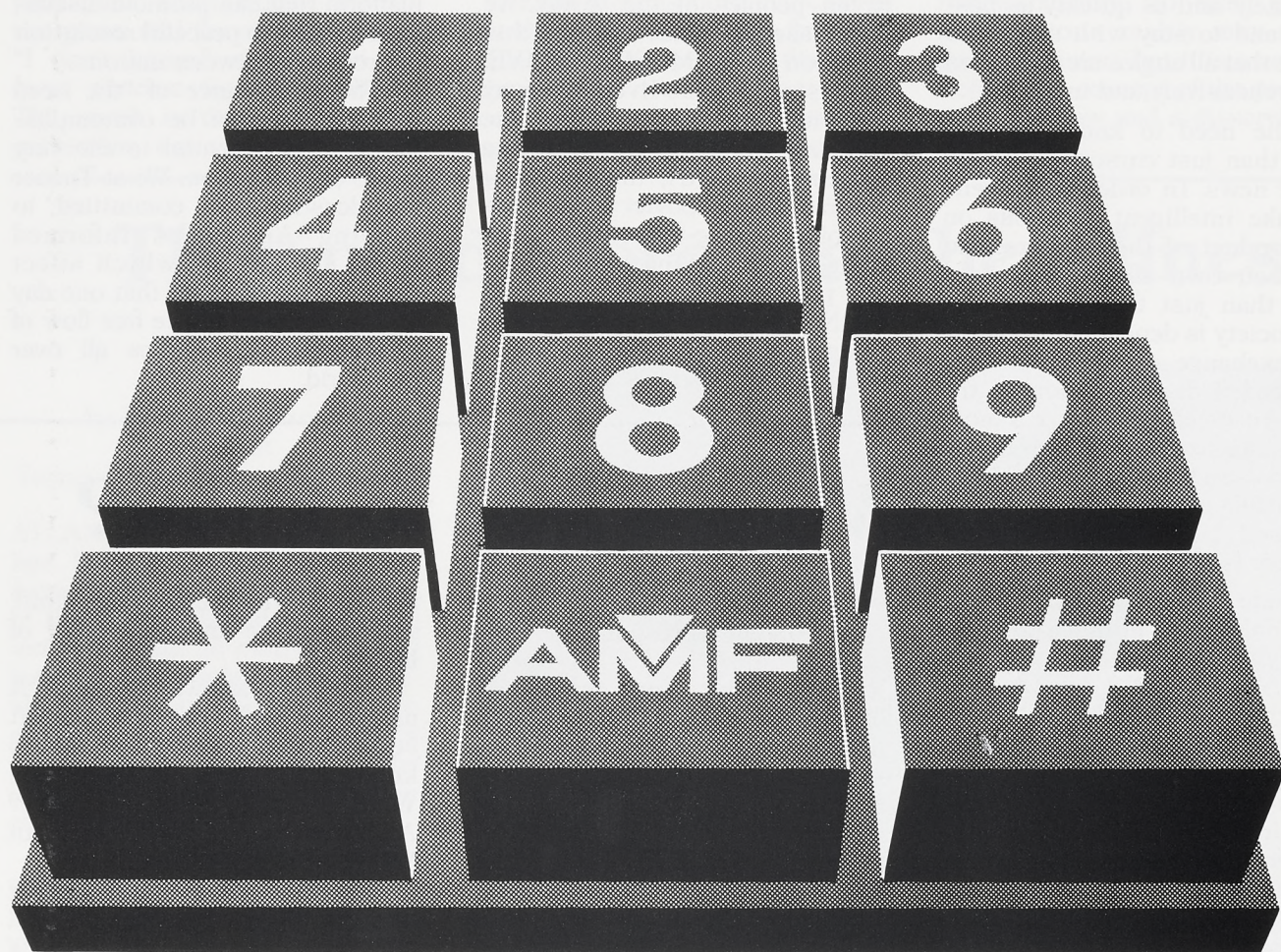
"Need to know," he says. A universal need. Let's take it apart very carefully. WHO needs to know?...To know WHAT? And WHEN?...now, soon, or later? And what about WHY? No, not WHY...WHY is too big.

Ntk has always got me in trouble. Take 1945 in Japan, sneaking away from MacArthur's control, entering the off-limits area of Nagasaki which even Doug hadn't seen. Writing 25,000 words about the hospitals, with anatomical analysis of the organs of the dying by Japanese doctors. Sending the stories every night for a week by safehand **kempetai**, the secret police, direct to Doug's censors, for transmission to Chicago. Finding out months later that all 25,000 words were destroyed.

Wilfred Burchett, the Australian correspondent, was smarter. He chose Hiroshima, which is nearer Tokyo, and gave his ntk to the U.S. navy, ever eager to make Doug drop his corn cob pipe. It worked. Australia got the word, but Chicago and my hundred papers got nothing. That was Doug. For him ntk was a nice hometown story about a GI who loved dogs.

After Nagasaki, there have been





# *Information?*

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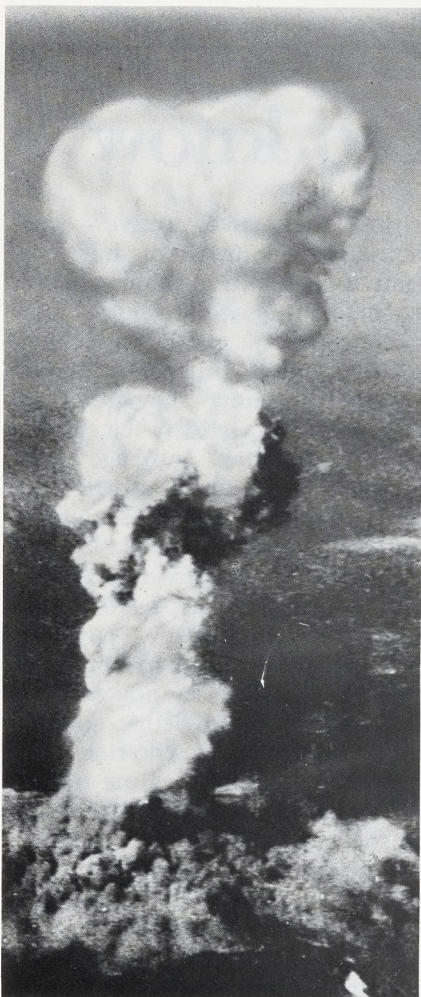
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so many ntk, with nearly as many megatons of importance. And some small ones that mattered. Small but mean. Sometimes an ntk actually goes off and is a dud. People see it, and they are not illuminated but bewildered. For example, there was the year the reticent NY Times dared to play on its front page that Kissinger had secretly arranged for Israel to



U.S. Army Air Corps photo

**The bomb that ended World War II — Hiroshima, August 6, 1945.**

be paid \$350 million extra by Washington, a premium for releasing the Sinai oilfields to Egypt a couple of years earlier than Sadat would get them anyway under Camp David... \$350 million worth of stroking. What's money for anyway?

I like and admire people who have ntk in their veins. Everybody's saint, among the overseas boys, is one who rarely left Washington; I. F. Stone. When the

Bureau of the Budget delivers its annual monster to news bureaus, the office secretary saves it to stand on and reach high shelves. Not Izzy Stone. He went through his federal budget like a motel waitress with a mailorder catalogue. Always found plenty of ntk, because he knew what he was looking for. Few WHENS, but lots of WHOS, and plenty of WHATS. Unfortunately, his virtue has undone him. He has published an autobiography loaded with ntk, but New York won't review the master. They don't like certain ntk.

Right now, one of the biggest ntk is sitting in plain sight in Cyprus, begging for any of the three U.S. news agencies or even some hardup special correspondent to recognize and illuminate it. By the impeccable process of democratic election, the Communist party of Greek Cyprus has now become what Washington's Greek lobby will tell you it could never-never be: the largest party on the strategic island. That's head count. I had an ntk there too, when the American official in charge of economic aid said, "Washington is pouring millions in here. I cable over and over, 'THEY DON'T NEED IT.' No use. The Congressmen keep it coming."

The thickest garden of ntk for years has been the Palestine area. One unwritten ntk is, "what does the PLO think of Russian occupation of Afghanistan?" Thanks to Soviet help to the PLO, Afghanistan has simply become a non-country to the PLO, free of impure ntk.

In the West, by far the biggest and most unmentionable ntk is the story of Itzhak Shamir, Israel's foreign minister, as leader of the Stern Gang in its closing phase, and the death of Count Folke Bernadotte, the Swedish peace negotiator, who prepared a UN plan for dividing Palestine.

Spurting ntk at every seam is the eight-volume autobiography of the Hamletian Moshe Sharett, Israel's answer to Adlai Stevenson. His indiscretions on Ben Gurion, Dayan and the long-suppressed "Lavon affair" remain untranslated from the Jewish original, except for a too-brief booklet by Livia Rokach of Rome, a friend of Stone. Sharett as prime minister tried to sell a peace policy to a Cabinet and army flushed with military triumphs and was doomed politically. Who will rescue his thousand ntk from oblivion, now that even Izzy Stone cannot be heard?

## Knowledge is the only fountain

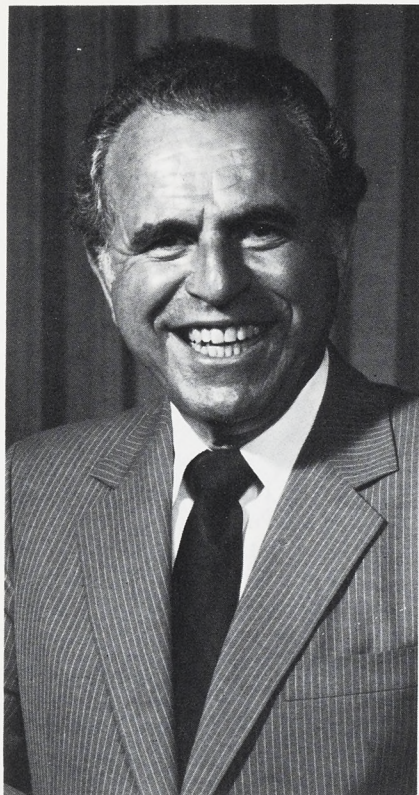
by Charles Z. Wick  
Director, U. S. International  
Communication Agency

WASHINGTON—Born during WW II and continuing ever since under various names, the U.S. International Communication Agency (USICA) has always operated under the principle that telling the truth about the United States and its foreign policies can have a significant positive impact on the implementation of these policies and on the understanding

which foreign peoples have of this country.

We have a lot going for us in telling America's story. Consider the American tradition of free public libraries which dates back to Ben Franklin. It is a tradition unique in the world in terms of open access by the public and service to the community. We have incorporated many features of the American public library into our USICA libraries abroad. Their collections are perforce smaller and more specialized, due to financial constraints, but their





Charles Z. Wick

purpose is the same: to provide information openly and freely to help people make intelligent decisions, decisions that may affect the United States.

Informing peoples abroad about the United States is our business. The Voice of America, USICA's global radio network, broadcasts the truth about the United States in 39 languages to an estimated 100 million people throughout the world every day. The VOA's Charter, which calls for accuracy, objectivity and comprehensiveness in VOA's output, is further proof of our devotion to the thesis that people in all countries need, indeed must have, full access to undistorted information in order to conduct their affairs rationally.

The same devotion to peoples' need to know extends across the whole range of USICA's activities and the media products it distributes abroad. I am thinking of the five regional teletype transmissions that we send out daily containing statements by U.S. Government officials and other materials supportive of U.S. policies; the 10 magazines that we publish in many languages; our films, videotapes,

and exhibits. Of great importance are our exchange programs, which give thousands of foreign students, teachers, researchers and political leaders the opportunity to discover our country firsthand, to see us as we are, the good and the bad. And of course, these same exchange programs send many Americans abroad where they become, in a sense, ambassadors of American culture.

"Knowledge is the only fountain, both of the love and the principles of human liberty," said Daniel Webster more than 100 years ago. His thought is obviously as true today. Our agency exists to provide knowledge about the United States and its policies. We have dedicated our efforts to making a positive impact on the way our country is perceived worldwide.

## Why we need to know

by Roger Wood  
Executive editor  
New York Post

NEW YORK—We live in a time when vast numbers of human beings have a deepening sense that matters of life and death are being shaped by forces beyond their control.

The frustration is most acute in communist states and other totalitarian societies. But to some degree, it pervades all countries where government has grown steadily bigger and its operations more intrusive.

Yet, in recent years, press declarations affirming "the people's right to know" have been increasingly attacked as a form of special pleading. It is suggested by

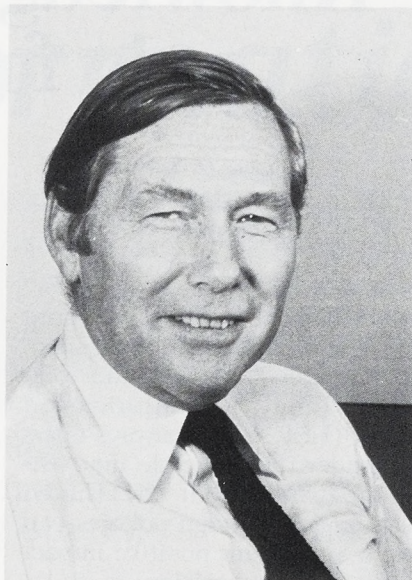
critics that investigative—even inquisitive—journalism has become a competitive game without any redeeming social value.

Newspapers can lay no claim to infallibility. But in pressing "the right to know" they are being responsive to a widely-felt, growing "need to know." In an age when humanity lives in the shadow of unprecedented dangers, decisions that may literally involve survival continuously confront governments. Dictatorships—old and new—live in dread of public scrutiny; but even the most relentless suppression cannot destroy the hunger for knowledge, so long dramatized by those who risk their lives to obtain clandestine newspapers and hear uncensored radio broadcasts.

The "free marketplace" of news and ideas always involves risk. History has repeatedly vindicated the proposition that war is too important a matter to be entrusted to generals. The same can be said about much of the business of politicians.

The American system of checks-and-balances is inherently a rejection of the image of omnipotent Big Brotherism. It ultimately rests on the maintenance of broad access to the information on which fateful policies are based.

There will be those who cling to the view that free societies are fatally disadvantaged by the pressure for public awareness. Ignorance is the ancient weapon of commissars and gauleiters; so is deceit, and worse, self-deception.



Roger Wood





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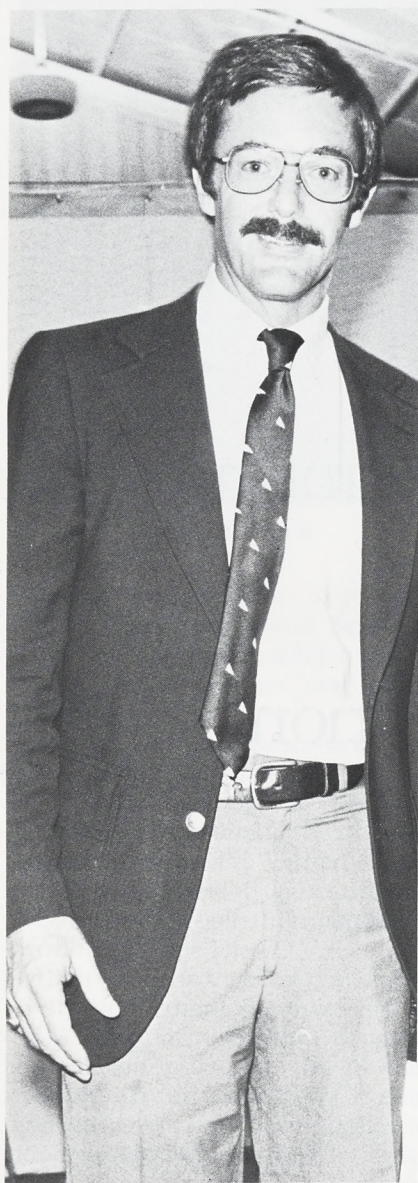
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## 1981 Awards



### The OPC Awards: objectivity, talent and dedication

**Bruce Gray, Chairman  
OPC 1981 Awards Committee**

In terms of communications, the world is much smaller than it was when these awards were conceived in 1940. Today's jet planes speedily convey correspondents to their assignments, and satellites send their stories home and around the world in seconds. Yet immediacy has only whetted the appetite and expectations of their audience: the demand for news and the analysis of its implications is greater than ever.

Unfortunately—and as was noted on this page one year ago—the stories that demand the most consistent coverage are the same as those that have dominated the news for the last forty years, and long before: violence, conflict and war.

In following these stories and all the others that must be told, America's journalists have continuously demonstrated outstanding objectivity, talent and dedication, and in the process have set new standards for their craft. It is in this context that the OPC Awards have sought annually to recognize and honor the very best in the field for more than forty years.

To the judges who faced the enormous task of reviewing and choosing from so many worthy candidates for the 1981 awards, our sincerest thanks. To all our entrants, and especially to the winners, our congratulations and compliments on a job well done.

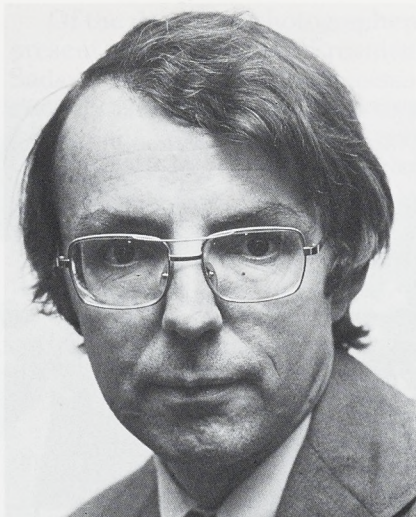


## Class 1

The Hal Boyle Award  
for the best daily  
newspaper or wire  
service reporting  
from abroad

Winner

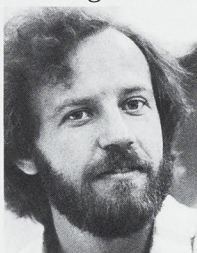
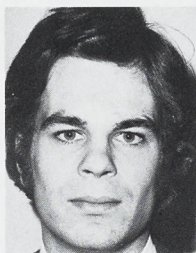
**David B. Ottaway**  
The Washington Post



### Citations

Brian Mooney  
Reuters

Alex Drehsler  
San Diego Union



Holding his press card on high like a protective shield, Ottaway strode onto the reviewing stand where Anwar Sadat was gunned down by his own soldiers, and wrote a thrilling eyewitness account of the assassination of the Egyptian president. Ottaway followed up with reports on the Moslem extremist soldiers, the transfer of power to Hosni Mubarak, and Sadat's ceremonial funeral. The Cairo-based correspondent is a graduate of Harvard College and has a Ph.D. in political science from Columbia University.

Citations go to Brian Mooney of **Reuters** for his coverage of the Solidarity crisis in Poland, and to Alex Drehsler of the **San Diego Union** for his on-the-spot reporting on El Salvador and Guatemala.

Judges: Henry Cassidy, Rosalind Massow, Ansel Talbert.

## Class 2

The Bob Considine  
Award for the best  
daily newspaper  
or wire-service  
interpretation of  
foreign affairs

Winner

**David K. Willis**  
Christian Science  
Monitor

After 4½ years as Moscow correspondent Willis became London bureau chief of the **Monitor** and produced two brilliant series. "Soviet Memorandum," based on his travels in all 15 of its republics, depicted the state of the U.S.S.R. and concluded that the Soviet regime is based on "force and fear" and its relationship with the West "will remain an adversary one." "On the Trail of the A-Bomb Makers," under datelines from New York to Karachi, reported that "atomic devices and the ability to detonate them are spreading to volatile areas of the world, where ambition and insecurities are high, but safeguards low." Born in Australia, Willis joined the **Monitor** in 1964.

Citations go to Elizabeth Pond of the **Christian Science Monitor** for articles on Poland, Germany and Euro-missiles, and to Robert J. White of the **Minneapolis Tribune** for coverage and commentary on Central America.

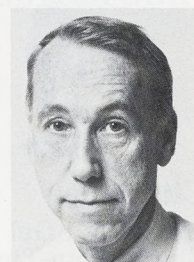
Judges: Henry Cassidy, Rosalind Massow, Ansel Talbert.



### Citations

Elizabeth Pond  
Christian Science  
Monitor

Robert J. White  
Minneapolis  
Tribune





## 1981 Awards



### Class 3

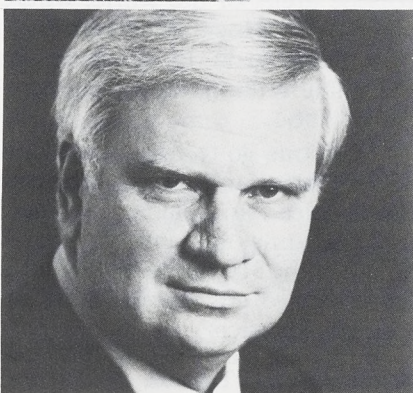
The Robert Capa Gold Medal for best photographic reporting or interpretation from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise

Winner

**Rudi Frey**  
Time Magazine

#### Citation

Henry Herr Gill  
Chicago Sun-Times



From the inception of the Solidarity movement, Frey covered all the major personalities and events of the year. When martial law was declared, he was one of two photojournalists at Solidarity's last meeting in Gdansk and took some of the last pictures of Lech Walesa and the Solidarity leaders before their arrest. He was first on the scene at Lenin Shipyard the day martial law was declared. His were the first still pictures smuggled out of Poland. Frey operated under extremely difficult circumstances and at great personal peril during these volatile days in Poland. An Austrian who lives in Rome, Frey has been taking pictures for Time for six years.

A citation is awarded to Henry Herr Gill of the **Chicago Sun-Times** for "Cocaine Express/Marijuana & Murder."

Judges: Barrett Gallagher, Charles E. Rotkin, Arnold Drapkin, John Durniak, John Morris, Arthur Rothstein, Sean Callahan.



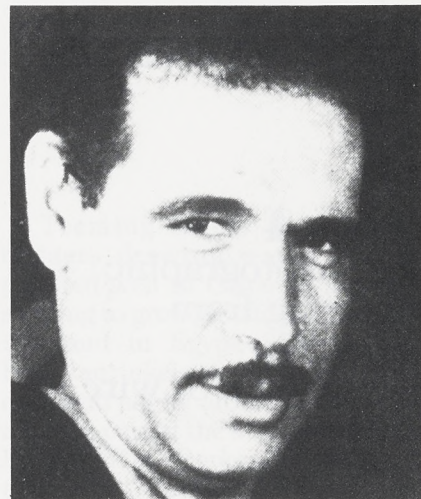
## Class 4

The Olivier Rebbot  
Memorial Award for  
best photographic  
reporting from  
abroad for  
magazines and books

Winner  
**Nakram Gadel  
Karim**  
Gamma Liaison

Of the dozens of photographers present when Egyptian President Sadat was so spectacularly assassinated, Karim alone kept recording the macabre events with cool precision throughout the frenzied 45-second attack. From the television stand 30 feet from Sadat, Karim followed the attack across the pavement from the parade, up to their firing over the lip of the reviewing stand into the tumult of overturned chairs and outstretched bodies. Karim was on assignment for the Cairo newspaper *AlAkhbar* and for Gamma Liaison agency, which circulated his pictures internationally. They ran exclusively in *Time Magazine* in the U.S. the week of the event.

Citations are awarded to Bruno Barbey for his "Poland on the Brink" in *Life Magazine*; to Harry Benson for "Parched Land of the Dying" and "The Endless Wake"



in *Life Magazine*, and to Steven L. Raymer for "The Illegal Trade in Endangered Wildlife" in *National Geographic*.

Judges: Barrett Gallagher, Charles E. Rotkin, Arnold Drapkin, John Durniak, John Morris, Arthur Rothstein, Sean Callahan.

### Citations

Bruno Barbey  
*Life Magazine*



Harry Benson  
*Life Magazine*



Steven L. Raymer  
*National  
Geographic*





## 1981 Awards

### Class 4

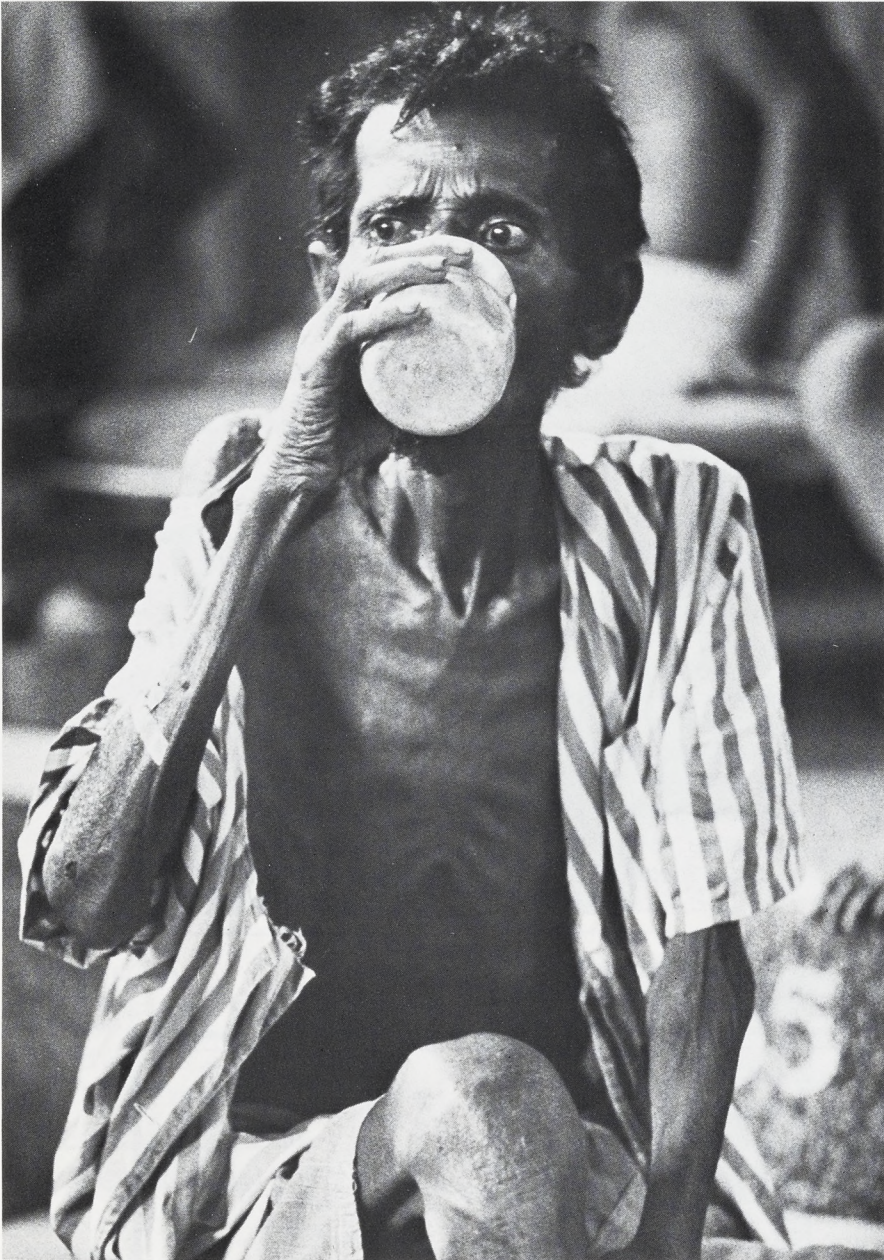
Best photographic  
reporting from  
abroad for  
newspapers or wire  
services

Winner

**Kent Kobersteen**  
Minneapolis Tribune

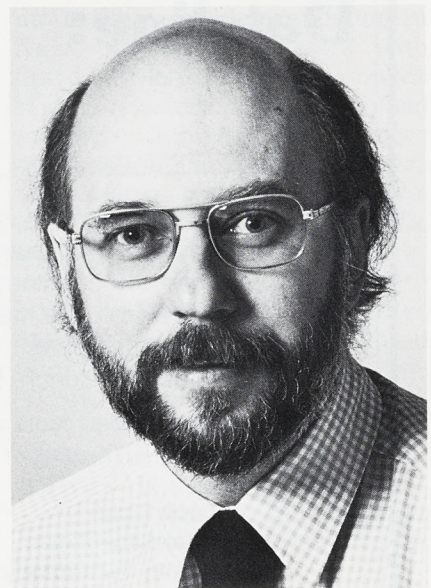






Teeming slums in Mexico; beggars drawing water from a polluted well in Calcutta; farmers striving to grow food from unyielding land in Egypt, Senegal and Pakistan; skeletal, diseased children and adults around the world: all were part of the story of "Global Poverty/The Darkening Future" that Kent Kobersteen pictured both graphically and sensitively for the **Minneapolis Tribune**. As part of a **Tribune** reporter-photographer team Kobersteen traveled through Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Egypt, Senegal and Mexico to report the plight of the world's poor. The pictures appeared in two Sunday magazines and a seven-part series in the **Tribune**. Kobersteen, a native of Minneapolis and graduate of the Minnesota University School of Journalism, has covered stories domestic and overseas for the **Tribune** since 1965.

Judges: Barrett Gallagher, Charles E. Rotkin, Arnold Drapkin, John Durniak, John Morris, Arthur Rothstein, Sean Callahan.





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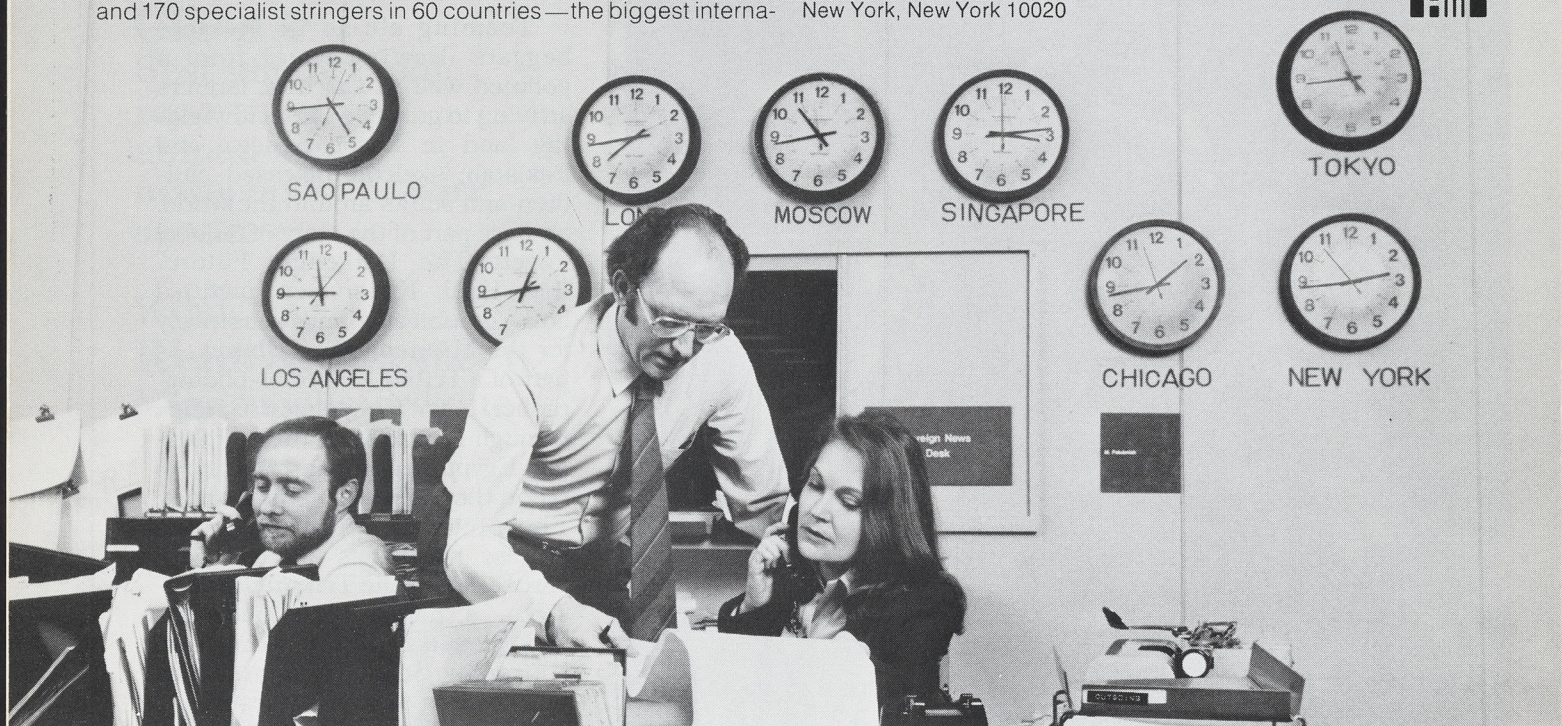
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# 1981 Awards

## Class 5

The Ben Grauer  
Award for the best  
radio spot news  
reporting  
from abroad

Winner

**ABC News Radio**  
for "Attempted  
Assassination of  
the Pope"

## RADIO abc Networks

Mere moments after Pope John Paul II had been shot in Rome, ABC News Radio had the bulletin on the air, the first American news organization to break the story. Within seven minutes it began airing a special network report that ran two full hours, with live reporting from Robert O. Miller on the scene in Rome, with graphic descriptions of the event and the circumstances surrounding it, with spontaneous reactions from all over the U.S., and special

reports from around the world. After the two-hour special it broadcast four live updates hourly, keeping the audience fully informed about the unfolding drama.

A citation is awarded to ABC News Radio for its "Hostage Coverage."

**Judges: Gene Sosin, Howard Kany, William Kratch, Gloria Zukerman.**

### Citation

ABC News Radio

## Class 6

The Lowell Thomas  
Award for  
the best radio  
interpretation of  
foreign affairs

Winner

**ABC News Radio**  
Perspective:  
Sadat, The Aftermath



Peter Jennings

Barrie Dunsmore



Doreen Kays

Jon Donovan

When Sadat was assassinated and Egypt had elected a new president, the effects of the change were an open question. So Barrie Dunsmore, Peter Jennings and Doreen Kays, ABC commentators with first-hand experience of complex Middle Eastern politics, joined moderator Jon Donovan to explore the question. They offered listeners an insightful and fascinating look into the future, at the probable stability of the Mubarek government, its future relationship with Israel, as well as with the United States. The discussion, broadcast from Cairo, fully justified its title "Perspective."

A citation is awarded to Fred J. Kennedy of NBC News Radio Network for "Hitler's Children."

**Judges: Gene Sosin, Howard Kany, William Kratch, Gloria Zukerman.**

### Citation

Fred J. Kennedy  
NBC News



## 1981 Awards

### Class 7

Best TV spot  
news reporting  
from abroad

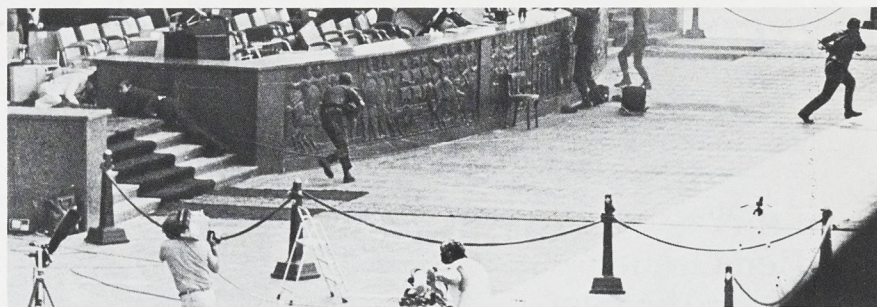
#### Winners

**Fabrice Moussus  
and**

**Aly El Ashmawy**  
ABC News

#### Citation

NBC  
Nightly News



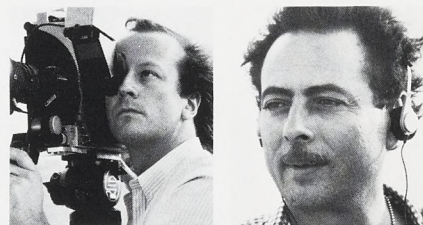
When Egyptian soldiers sprinted to the reviewing stand and opened withering fire, and others dispersed in panic, ABC cameraman Moussus and soundman El Ashmawy bucked the traffic and courageously rushed in to film close-up the fury of the attack and hysteria of the moment.

Moussus, French, with broadcast journalism degrees from the Universities of North Dakota and Syracuse, worked for ABC stations in New Haven, Albany and Utica; covered politics, addiction, and features for ABC in New York, and for two years has covered the Middle East, from the Iran-Iraq war, to fighting in Beirut, to Rapid

Deployment Forces exercises. El Ashmawy has covered the Middle East, notably the peace treaty efforts, for ABC for two years. He previously was an engineer for the Egyptian Cinema Co.

A citation is awarded to NBC Nightly News for "Central America: Guatemala, the Next Act?"

Judges: David Z. Shefrin, Marcel Martin, Arthur Unger.



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**Class 8**  
The  
Edward R. Murrow  
Award for best  
TV interpretation  
or documentary  
on foreign affairs

Winner  
**CBS News**  
for "The Russians"



**Citation**  
ABC News  
Closeup

For this program, part of a CBS Reports series on "The Defense of the United States," Walter Cronkite visited Moscow to draw a picture of America and its defense posture as seen through the eyes of the Russians. In interviews with Russian authorities vague about their exact posts and guarded in their comments; with Western reporters with broad experience and insights, and probing through published Soviet propaganda on missiles, space, and military, Cronkite skillfully defined the gap in understanding between Russia and the U.S. — and in doing so, made a substantial contribution to lessening that gap.

A citation is awarded to ABC News Closeup for "Japan: Myths Behind the Miracle."

Judges: David Z. Shefrin, Marcel Martin, Arthur Unger.

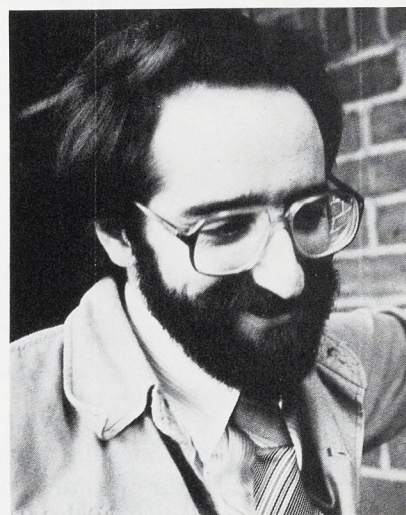
**Class 9**  
The Mary Hemingway  
Award for best  
magazine reporting  
from abroad

Winner  
**Lawrence  
Wechsler**  
The New Yorker

Wechsler's two-part series, "A Reporter in Poland," combines a felicitous literary style with formidable reporting in depth. In a reportorial tour de force running from May through the fall of 1981, Wechsler takes his readers backstage with Solidarity, with the Polish people, and with the Communist party. He describes how Poland's location, between East and West, has led to a history of occupation, domination, bloodshed, recurrent tragedy, and how nationalism and Roman Catholicism, as in the past, have enabled Poland to survive the bleak days of critical shortages and martial law.

A citation is awarded to Shirley Christian for "Freedom and Unfreedom in Nicaragua," in *The New Republic*.

Judges: Morton Frank, William Arthur, Alfred Balk, William Bundy, Stanley Swinton.



**Citation**  
Shirley Christian  
The New  
Republic



## 1981 Awards

### Class 10

Best magazine  
interpretation of  
foreign affairs

Winner

**Walter Isaacson  
and  
correspondents  
Time Magazine**



#### Citations

Robert Shaplen    Peter Goldman  
The New Yorker    Newsweek



Robert Shaplen

"Arming the World," a lead **Time Magazine** article, presents a comprehensive survey of arms sales worldwide, addressing the roles of the U.S., the Soviet Union and France, and the growing participation of other countries. In eight tightly written pages of thorough reporting, careful presentation and hard-hitting but balanced and sophisticated examination, the article draws out the scale and dangers of the business, the policy issues involved, and the need for both governments and peoples to recognize the importance of world arms trading.

Citations are awarded to Robert Shaplen for his "Letter from Tokyo" in **The New Yorker**, and to Peter Goldman for "What Vietnam Did to Us" in **Newsweek**.

Judges: Morton Frank, William Arthur, Alfred Balk, William Bundy, Stanley Swinton.

## R&D is a long and costly road to travel.

Luck does not bring life-saving products to market; a well-planned research and development program does. But the R&D maze is a long and costly road to travel. Recent studies indicate that it takes as much as 10 years and \$70 million to bring a new medicine to market. This year Pfizer will spend more than \$200 million for R&D in an effort to provide new products that are safe and effective and meet our high standards of quality. Pfizer's R&D commitment today helps to assure better health tomorrow.

**Pfizer**



## Class 11

Best cartoon on  
foreign affairs

MIAMI NEWS © 1981

82



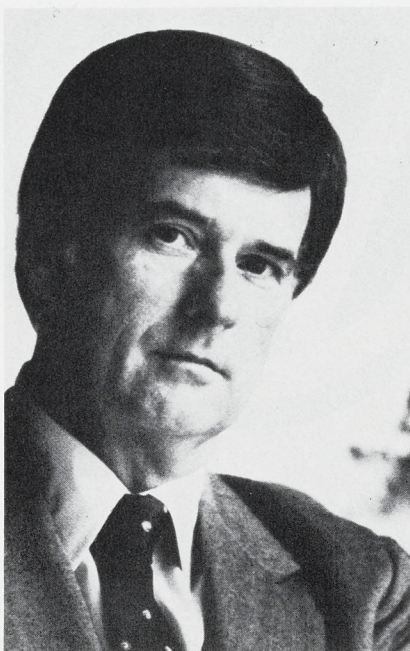
Winner

**Don Wright**  
The Miami News

Visual impact, powerful drawing and clarity of message won Wright the best cartoon award this year. His cartoons, which are published in the **Miami News** and distributed by the **New York Times Syndicate**, were also packed into his second book, "Wright Side Up," in December of 1981. A previous winner of OPC awards, Wright joined **The News** as a copy boy at 18, applied for an opening as photographer, and became graphics editor before becoming a political cartoonist at 29. Since then he's risen to the top of his profession. His cartoons are now animated and distributed to television stations across the country by **Newsweek Broadcasting**.

Citations are awarded to Lazaro Fresquet of **El Miami Herald** and to Mike Peters of the Dayton, Ohio, **Daily News**.

Judges: Frank Evers and Harry Devlin.



### Citations

Lazaro Fresquet  
El Miami Herald  
Mike Peters  
Dayton, Ohio Daily News





## 1981 Awards

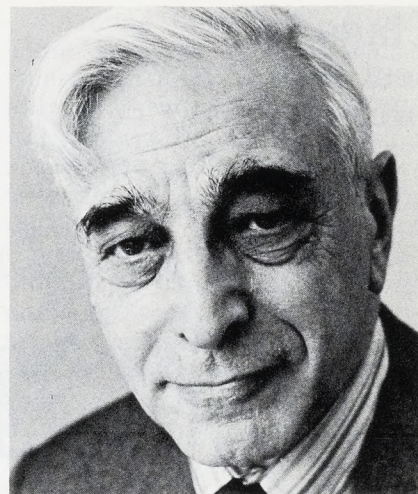
**Class 12**  
Best business  
news reporting  
from abroad

Winner  
**J. A. Livingston**  
The Philadelphia  
Inquirer

For five weeks J. A. Livingston interviewed British government officials, bankers, businessmen, labor leaders, workers, and members of Parliament, and produced a literate and compelling series of articles comparing the economies of Britain and the U.S. Drawing historic parallels, from Britain's industrial revolution and colonial markets to America's assemblyline revolution and postwar markets, to contemporary comparisons of Thatcherism and Reaganomics, he concluded both countries need "the moral equivalent of war: a consensus that consuming too much today shortchanges the children of tomorrow." A reporter since 1925 and business reporter almost that long, Livingston's column is syndicated throughout the U.S. and Canada.

A citation is awarded to Roy Rowan of **Fortune Magazine** for "China's Creeping Capitalism."

Judges: Margaret Klein, Alena Wels, Bob Dallos.



**Citation**  
Roy Rowan  
Fortune Magazine



**Compliments of  
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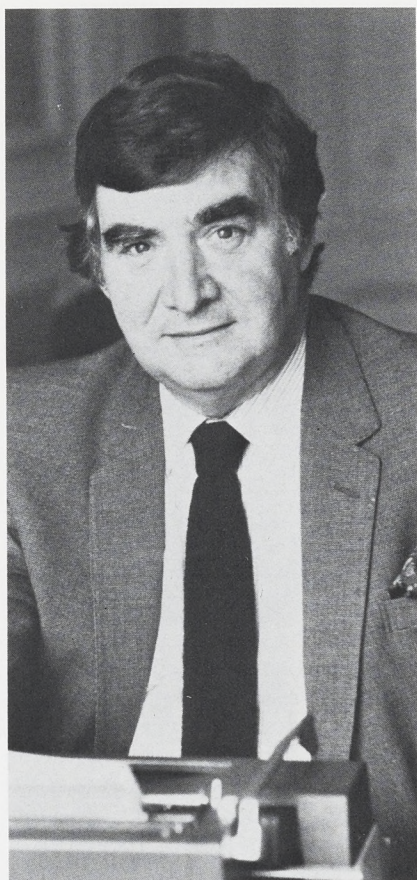


## Class 13

The Cornelius Ryan  
Award for the best  
book on foreign  
affairs

Winner

**Pierre Salinger**  
"America Held  
Hostage"



In this book, subtitled "The Secret Negotiations," Salinger unfolds the full story of the hostages in Iran, from the Shah's leaving Teheran, to the freed Americans. Offering fresh information on the resolution of the crisis from his own research, interviews, and even participation, he describes the roles of before- and behind-the-scenes go-betweens, of heads of state with contrasting private and public positions, and of negotiations ranging from Washington, to Panama, Algiers, Teheran, Bonn and London.

Judges: Anita Diamant-Berke, Carol Smith, Hallie Burnett, Alex Liepa, Ken Giniger.

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## 1981 Awards

### Class 14

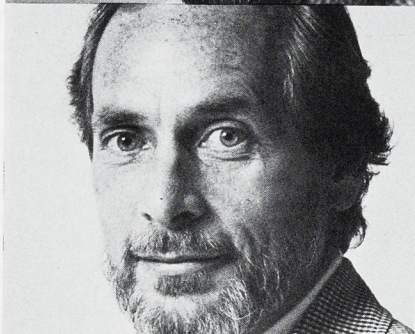
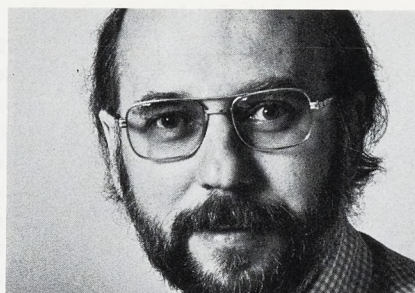
The Madeline Dane Ross Award for international reporting in any medium which demonstrates a concern for humanity

Winners

**Kent Kobersteen and**

**Alan McConagha**

The Minneapolis Tribune



Staff correspondent Alan McConagha and staff photographer Kent Kobersteen travelled to six countries on three continents to produce "Global Poverty/The Darkening Future," a first-hand look at conditions in the world's poorest nations. The team's stories and pictures make grim reading

and viewing—not the kind of light stuff editors supposedly dish out in mid-summer editions for care-free vacation readers. The team's writing and photography blended into a stark drama of human suffering in countries cruelly deprived—and with little hope in the future.

Citations are awarded to Tom Fenton of CBS News for "Too Many People, Too Little Food," and to Cheryl McCall, for "An Angry Doctor Battles a Gruesome Black Market in Asian Children," in **People Magazine**.

Judges: Larry Stessin, Julia Edwards, Barrett Gallagher, Margaret Cartwright.

#### Citations

Tom Fenton  
CBS News

Cheryl McCall  
People Magazine



### Class 15

Best editorial or series which most effectively discloses abuse of human rights abroad and lends support to the principle of human rights

Winner

**Betty De Ramus**

Detroit Free Press



#### Citation

William Kucewicz  
Wall Street Journal



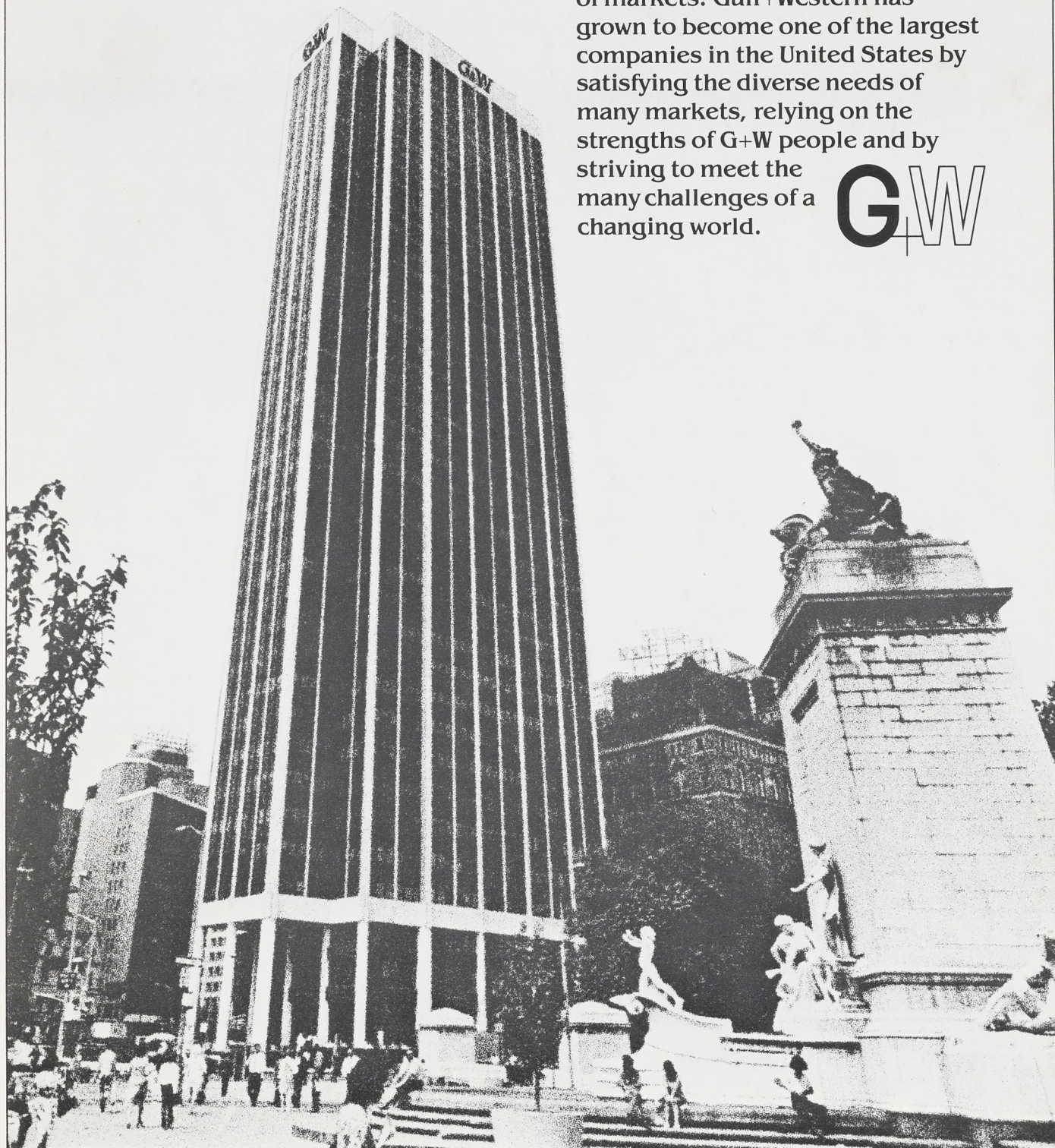
"Human rights is a fragile notion," wrote Betty De Ramus in her series, **HUNGRY PEOPLE**. "It is more likely to be stumbled upon in constitutions and speeches than in the real world." De Ramus has turned the most basic real world problem, "The Right to Eat," into a clear, colorful and moving series of articles and editorials. Her focus shifts with dramatic swiftness from Addis Abbaba to Florida, from Lusaka to Detroit. She shows how hunger still stalks much of the world's population—whether in the Third World or the First World here at home.

A citation is awarded to William Kucewicz of the **Wall Street Journal** for his three-part series on "Yellow Rain."

Judges: Roy Rowan, Richard Oulahan, Norman Schorr.



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# Frederick Forsyth's Rolex is like his novels. Tough, accurate and very stylish.

Frederick Forsyth is not a prolific writer.

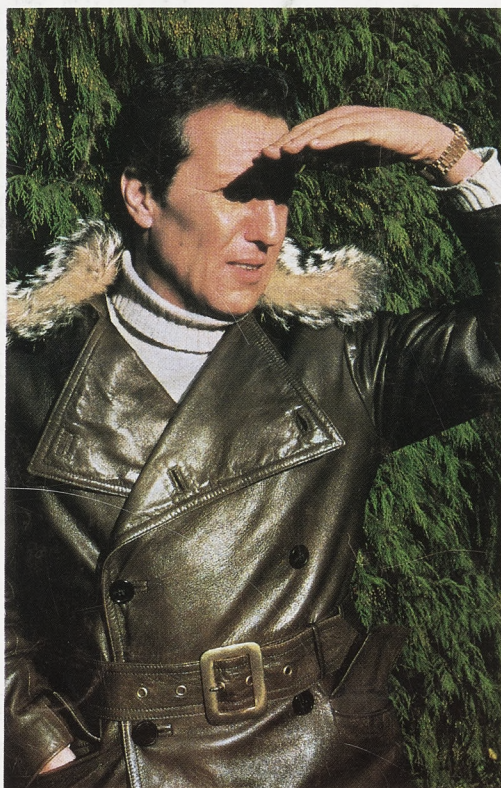
In fact, in the past twelve years he has completed just four full-length novels.

And yet *The Day of the Jackal*, *The Odessa File*, *The Dogs of War* and *The Devil's Alternative* have all become instant best-sellers around the world.

Already his first three books have been made into successful feature films.

Forsyth's writing is characterized by a blend of uncannily authentic detail and superb storytelling.

The facts are drawn from his own many experiences as a front-line war correspondent; the fiction, from something the craftsmen at Rolex appreciate only too well — a sense of style.



Frederick Forsyth wears a Rolex Oyster Day-Date in 18kt. gold, with matching President bracelet.

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Apart from his Rolex, Frederick Forsyth is particularly pleased with the coat you see him wearing in the photograph.

He spotted it in a shop in London, and asked of what fur the collar was made.

The assistant told him.

"Jackal."



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*Pictured: The Rolex Day-Date Chronometer. Available in 18kt. gold, with matching President bracelet.*

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